EARLY HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KASHMIR

DR. SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

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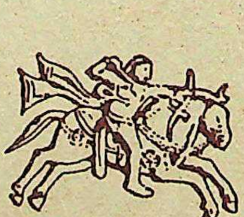

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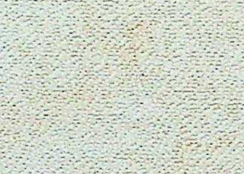

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EARLY HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KASHMIR

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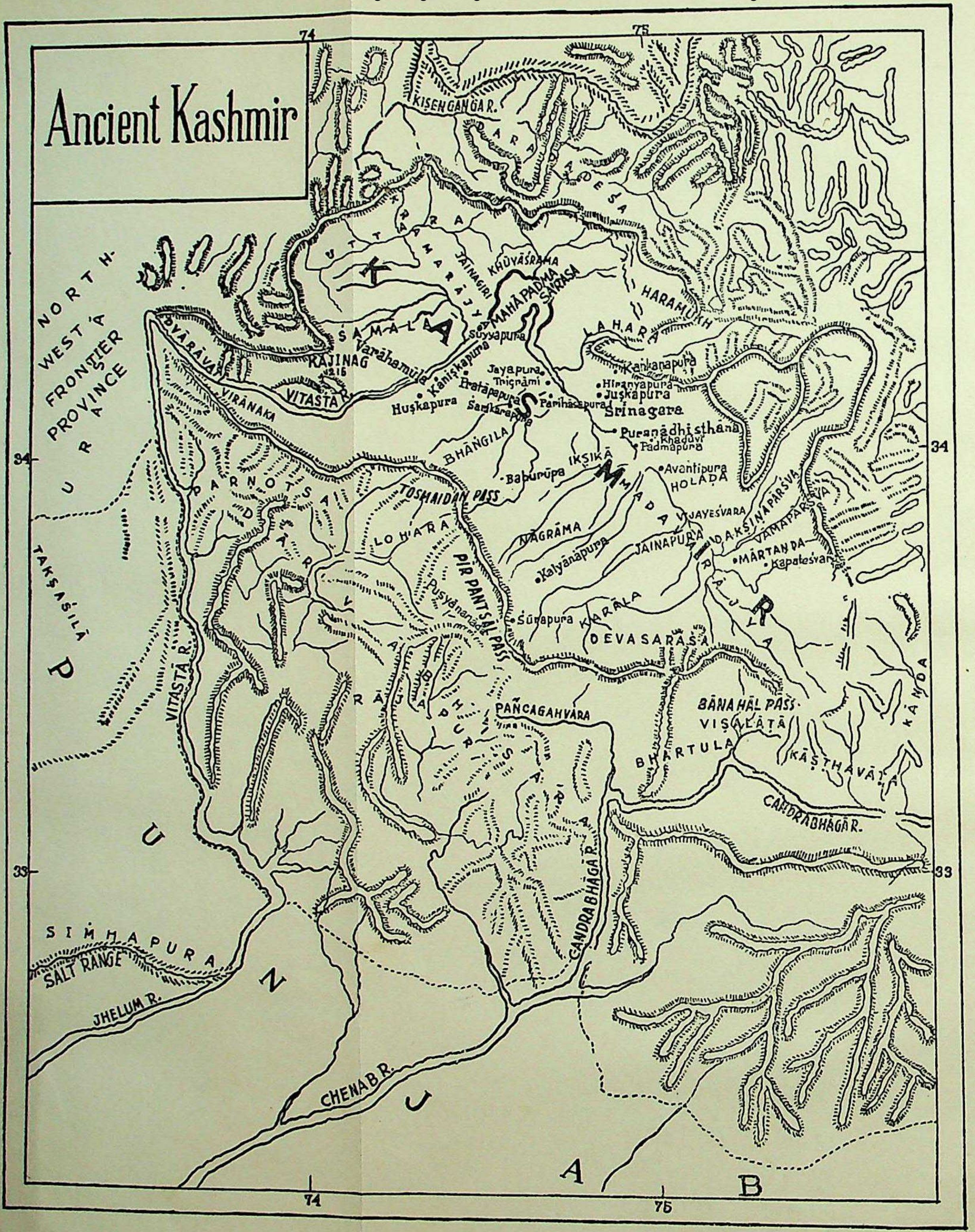
Ancient Kashmir
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DARADDEŚA
UTTARA
KAŚMĪRA
MARĀJYA
JAINAGIRI
KHŪYĀŚRAMA
MAHĀPADMA SARASA
HARAMUKH
LAHARA
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE
URAŚA
ŚAMALĀ
DVĀRĀVATĪ
RAJINAG
Varāhamūla
Suyyapura
Kāniṣkapura
Jayapura
Trigrāmī
Pratāpapura
Parihāsapura
Huṣkapura
Sankarapura
Kankanapura
Hiranyapura
Juṣkapura
Srinagara
Puranādhiṣṭhāna
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JAINAPURA
NĀGRĀMA
MĀRTAṆḌA
Kapateśvara
Kalyānapura
PĪR PANTSĀL PASS
Pusyānanada
Śūrapura
KARĀLA
DEVASARASA
TAKṢAŚILĀ
VITASTĀ R.
RĀJAPURĪ
PAÑCAGAHVARA
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SALT RANGE
JHELUM R.
CHENAB R.
PUNJAB
PUNJAB

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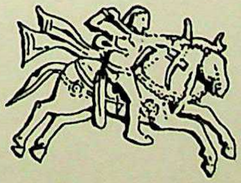
LUCKNOW.

EARLY HISTORY
AND
CULTURE OF KASHMIR

by

DR. SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

WITH A FOREWORD BY
SARDAR K. M. PANIKKAR



FIRST EDITION 1957

To

My Parents

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All of us, I suppose, have varying pictures of our native land and no two persons will think exactly alike. When I think of India, I think of many things................and, above all, of the Himalayas, snow-capped, or some mountain valley in Kashmir in the spring, covered with new flowers, and with a brook bubbling and gurgling through it. We make and preserve the pictures of our choice, and so I have chosen this mountain background rather than the more normal picture of a hot, sub-tropical country.

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, *Discovery of India*—

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FOREWORD

Dr. S. C. Ray's History of Kashmir is an outstanding piece of research on a very important region of India. From at least the third century B.C. Kashmir played a very important part in Indian historical developments. Situated on the borders of Central Asia and always in close contact with the steppe civilisations of Turkestan, it became early in its history, the organised base from which Indian civilisation penetrated into the vast territories lying between China and the Caspian. Notably in the great work of spreading Buddhism, and Sanskrit literature on which Mahayana Buddhism was based, the part played by Kashmir was decisive. The conversion of intermediate kingdom of Kuchi seems to have been the work of Kashmirian scholars. We know from the life of Kumarajiva that it was customary for youngmen of Kuchi to be sent to Kashmir for higher learning. Through Kuchi and Khotan the influence of Kashmirian scholars spread to China and in the list of learned monks from India preserved in the records of China, those from Kashmir hold a high place.

Walled off by high mountains and endowed with unequalled natural beauty, Kashmir remained an inviolate sanctuary of Indian Culture, till at least the 14th century. Buddhism, Saivism and Sanskrit learning flourished in the valley and produced a remarkably rich culture till the Muslim conquest overturned the social structure of Kashmir. The integration of Kashmir life was so complete that one of his most remarkable books that Kshemendra, who was himself a Saivaite, produced was on the Avadanas of the Buddha, a classic in later Buddhist literature.

Though it was but seldom till the time of the Moghuls that the plains of India politically dominated the Kashmirian uplands and equally it was only on rare occasions that the monarchs of Kashmir tried to penetrate into the plains, the cultural, religious and literary life of the valley seems at least from Asoka's time to have been closely integrated with the life of the Punjab and the Gangetic Valley. So far as Buddhism is concerned, we have very full evidence of this. But equally important and indeed so far as India is concerned, much more far reaching has been the development of Advaita Saivism in Kashmir. The Trika Sasana associated with Vasugupta and Kallata seems to have arisen in the 9th century and may have been the result of the great Samkaracharya's visit to that country which tradition affirms and which we have no reason to doubt. The monism of the Trika Sasana is a notable instance of

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Advaita Vedanta's influence on religion and is probably the earliest religious expession of Samkara's philosophical system. Kashmirian Tantrism on Kaula marga also takes on this monism and combines the ancient forms of Devi-worship with the philosophical tenets of Advaita. The influence of the Kaula form of worship is felt even now in every part of India, from far off Kerala in the south to the Himalayan Valleys in the north and may well be claimed to be one of the major contributions of Kashmir to the life of India.

So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned, apart from alamkara sastra in which Kashmirians seem to have excelled, the names of Somadeva, Kshemendra, Damodaragupta, Bilhana and Kalhana stand out as a brilliant galaxy of genius adding lustre to the history of Sanskrit literature. Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara*, one of the undisputed masterpieces of the world may well be claimed to be the epic of the middle classes, a unique work which almost compensates us for the loss of Gunadhya's original. Of the later poets of Sanskrit the only one who could be compared with him is Hemachandra Suri. Kshemendra was perhaps the most comprehensive mind of his time, who wandered into every field including satire, with distinction. Of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* it is unnecessary to say anything as the present Volume bears ample witness to his merit as a historical document. Thus at least till the Muslim conquest of the valley, Kashmir could claim to have been in the vanguard of Indian culture, with notable contributions to every aspect of Indian life.

Dr. Ray, in his present volume, brings out clearly these unique characteristics of Kashmir history. Not only does he give a connected narrative of Kashmir's political evolution based on all available sources, literary, archaeological, numismatic, foreign allusions etc. but brings out the cultural, religious and social development of the people of the valley. Though a few of his suggestions would appear to be based on insufficient evidence and there may be room for differences of opinion on others, it is in my opinion a model of what such regional histories ought to be and I congratulate Dr. Ray on producing a work of great value on an area which should be better known to the people of India as a whole.

KM Panikkar

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PREFACE

I subscribe to the view that the history of a country is not merely the chronological narrative of its ruling dynasties, their wars and intrigues, but that is indeed, the story of its people. An attempt has been made in this treatise to tell this story of people's onward march in ancient Kashmir in all its aspects, social, economic and cultural against a political background.

The following pages represent the substantial portion of a thesis which was approved for the Doctor of Philosophy degree of the University of Calcutta. The work was undertaken as the James Prinsep Research Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (now Asiatic Society) and carried out under the guidance of Professor Nihar-ranjan Ray, M.A., D.Lett. and Phil., Bagisvari Professor of Indian Art and Culture, University of Calcutta. Professor Ray's affection does not measure by formal expressions of gratitude. The Asiatic Society gave me all necessary facilities to pursue the work. Let me thank the authorities of the Society for the acts of kindness. I also extend my thanks to Professor B. N. Sikdar, M.A. of Darjeeling Government College for going through parts of the manuscript and offering some valuable suggestions which have been incorporated in the text; to Sri N. M. Ray of Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta for readily undertaking the work of line-drawing of several illustrations, preparation of a map and designing of the cover; to the Ministry of Education, Government of Jammu and Kashmir for kindly permitting me to reproduce the illustrations at the end of the book (except fig. b, pl. VI and pl. VII); to the Director General, Department of Archaeology, Government of India, for the kind courtesy in allowing me to publish a figure of Viṣṇu in plate VII of which the Department holds copyright and to reproduce other photographic illustrations from Departmental publications; to Messrs. Taraporewala of Bombay for allowing me to reprint a drawing (pl. VI, fig. b) from one of their publications. Lastly, I am beholden to Sardar K. M. Panikkar, scholar, statesman and diplomat for kindly condescending to write a foreword to my book.

S. C. Ray

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Ancient Monuments	Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*
2. Ann. Rep., A.S.I.	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*
3. BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Française d' Extrême-orient, Hanoi*
4. B.S.S.	Bombay Sanskrit Series
5. Cat. Catalog.	Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*
6. C.I.I.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
7. C.M.I.	Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*
8. Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia Indica*
9. Essay	Wilson, An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir, Transactions of the Asiatic Society, *Asiatic Reseraches* , Vol XV, Calcutta, 1825
10. G.O.S.	Gaekwad Oriental Series
11. Handbook	Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*
12. I.C.	*Indian Culture*
13. I.H.Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
14. I.M.C.	V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I.
15. Ind. Ant.	*Indian Antiquary*
16. J.A.	*Journal Asiatique*
17. J.A.S.B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
18. J.B.B.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
19. J.N.S.I.	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
20. J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
21. Jonarāja or Jonar.	Jonarājā, *Dvitīya-Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Cal. Ed.)
22. Jonar. (Bo. Ed.)	Jonarāja, *Dvitīya-Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Ed. Peterson, Bombay)
23. Kav.	*Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*
24. Mbh.	*Mahābhārata*
25. N.S.P.	Nirnaya Sagar Press
26. R.A.S.B.	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

27. Report	Bühler's Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts made in Kashmīr, Rajputana and Central India, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (Extra no.), 1877
28. R.T.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Ed. M. A. Stein
29. Śrīvara	Śrīvara, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Cal. Ed.
30. Subh.	*Subhāṣitāvalī*, Ed. Peterson
31. T.S.S.	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
32. Vikram	*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*
33. Z.D.M.G.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

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INTRODUCTION

The term ' Early ' is defined, for the purpose of the present study, as Vincent Smith defined it in his *Early History of India*, to denote a period ranging from the dawn of history to the establishment of Muslim rule. We have to start with some semi-historical, semi-legendary anecdotes, for our earliest, extant, written information of Kashmir, which comes from the pen of Kalhaṇa, is but a fardel of vague legends and myths with a little of history here and there. We stop at the year 1338 A.D. when the Valley passes into the hands of Muslim rulers. The era opening with the accession of the Karkoṭas to the throne of Kashmir and closing with the termination of Hindu rule is often dubiously dubbed ' medieval ' by scholars. But ' medieval ' is an expression that seems equally suitable for the years running between Shahmera and Akbar or perhaps, even Gulab Singh. So I name my dissertation *Early History and Culture of Kashmir* to demarcate what goes before Shahmera from what follows him in the history of the ' secluded vale '.

The sources, we have to draw upon, may be divided under two broad heads—Archaeological and Literary. Under archaeology come inscriptions, coins and monuments. A few inscriptions of ancient Kashmir have survived and they include a Brāhmī inscription of about the 4th century A.D. from Harwan that announces the traditional Buddhist creed *Ye dharma hetuprabhavā* etc.; a fragmentary inscription from the temple of Mārtaṇḍa; two inscriptions of queen Didda's time; and a Śāradā inscription from Arigom dated 1197 A.D. Except that four out of the five epigraphic documents are connected with the cult of the prince of the Śākyas, they have little historical significance. Coins, generally crude, lacking variety of types as well as artistic quality, yet appear to portray the general economic condition of the country and confirm the succession of rulers from the time of Śaṁkaravarman onwards as evinced by the Chronicle of the land. Numerous ancient monuments, datable from *c.* 4th century A.D. to the 12th, have survived time's cruel onslaught to bear rude but reliable testimony to the heterogeneous art-history of the land.

Literary sources include both foreign and indigenous material. Greek writers like Hecataeus, Herodotus, Dionysios, Nonnos and Ptolemy had heard about Kashmir and Ptolemy seems to have possessed some idea of its geographical location, but it were the Chinese who could and did maintain more intimate relations with this neighbouring kingdom. Over and above a few important notices taken by the historians of the Tang period, we find in the accounts of two celebrated pilgrims, Hiuen Tsang and Ou-kong details about Kashmir and her people. Both these writers passed several years in the valley and were able to bring out somewhat authentic accounts of the things they saw. Among the Arab writers, Alberuni's description of contemporary Kashmir is full and accurate. Unlike his Chinese predecessors, he probably had no chance of visting the Valley but was fortunate enough to have at his disposal the services of some Kashmirian scholars who supplied him with necessary informations. Lastly, there is the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, whose account, though brief, corroborates what we learn from other sources.

Indigenous sources too may be divided into two groups Indian and Kashmirian. Strangely enough, the knowledge of ancient India about Kashmir was extremely meagre. Pāṇini, Patañjali and the author of the *Mahābhārata* had only heard about Kashmir; the *Purāṇas* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* were able to locate the country in the northern region. Śrī Harṣa, the writer of *Ratnāvalī,* was aware of the high quality of the saffron produced in Kashmir; and the court poets of the Chandella king, Dhaṅga, and the Chedi king, Lakṣmī Karṇa knew that like Bengal, Lāṭa, Pāṇḍya and the Gurjara country, Kashmir was another land worth-conquering. But that was all they knew and the early Indian sources tell us of the valley little more.

Kashmirian literature on the other hand is very rich with informations about old Kāśmīra. The oldest extant text, the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, deals in several chapters with the sacred legends pertaining to the origin of the country, the ordinances of Nīla, the lord of Kashmir Nāgas, the principal Nāgas or sacred springs and other various legends connected with them. The earlier portions of the book speak most probably of the lacustrine origin of the land, a fact supported by geological researches. In the second section we learn a bit of the religious rites and ceremonies of early Kashmir. The last section, as Bühler points out, 'forms a real mine of information regarding the sacred springs of Kāśmīra and their legends'. The exact date of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* can not be ascertained. Kalhaṇa speaks of it as an old work on which he drew. In general, he mentions the names of the principal literatures and their compositions from the time of Jayāpīḍa onwards. He does not refer to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* among them, which perhaps goes back to an earlier period, the 7th century A.D. or the beginning of the 8th.

Next comes Jayāpīḍa's court poet Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (8th cent. A.D.) containing a vivid picture of the contemporary socio-economic life.

Another helpful author is Kṣemendra (11th cent. A.D.) whose works are full of facts about the country and the life around him. In his *Deśopadeśa*, he dilates upon the daily life of different sections of the people inhabiting the valley such as cheats, misers, prostitutes, bawds, ostentatious voluptuaries, students of Gauḍa, degraded Śaiva *gurus* and so on. His *Narmamālā* is a sharp satire on the misrule and oppression of the bureaucracy before the time of Ananta. In the *Samayamātṛkā*, one of his most original compositions, he describes the snares and trickeries of courtesans, and gives amongst others an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine Kaṅkālī, through the length and breadth of Kashmir. The numerous places visited by her can easily be located on the map. More than once, curious touches of true colour give additioal interest to these references. To Kṣemendra's poem, for example, we owe the earliest mention of the Pīr Pantsāl route and its hospice, and of the ancient salt trade which continued to follow this route till recently.

Our next authority is Bilhaṇa (11th cent. A.D.) who left the pleasures of his home in quest of poetic glory in an alien court. The eighteenth canto of his poem *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* contains a charming account of the land he leaves behind.

Similar in character, but less defined, is the description of Kāśmīra and its capital Pravarapura, by Mankha (12th cent. A.D.) in the third chapter of his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*.

Mankha's contemporary was Kalhaṇa, whose Chronicle, the *River of Kings*, tells us more than anything else of Kashmir and her early inhabitatnts. The first three books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, contain much that is myth mixed with history. This does not mean that the portions are devoid of any interest. On the contrary, they have great value, not only because they refer to the names of Aśoka, Kaniṣkas and Mihirakula, but also because they present us with some detailed account of the general condition of the kingdom in the centuries preceding the accession of the Karkoṭas. The next three books of Kalhaṇa, which cover a period extending from the accession of the Karkoṭas to the establishment of the Lohara dynasty, contain much that is history, fairly authentic. In his seventh and eighth books, Caṇpaka's son expresses a very great degree of historical insight as well as scholarship. To write the earlier books, as the poet-historian tells us, he had been helped by some ancient texts besides inscriptions and coins. For the last two books, he had, in addition, informations from his elder contemporaries and his own experiences. Among the special merits of Kalhaṇa as a historian, Stein mentions his impartiality and independence, the individuality of his characters, the accuracy of the genealogical statements, a high sense of historical truthfulness (in the later parts of the Chronicle) and an exactness of topographical details. To these, we may add, his sense of the philosophy of history— a quality rare among the writers of the past. Kalhaṇa lets his story tell itself in the deeds and words of those who act it out. But he does not act as a mere reporter. Kalhaṇa the narrator of events and Kalhaṇa the thinker who explains the facts by causes and effects and exposes the principles which underlie them are one and indivisible self, who does not marshal the facts to illustrate his thesis; much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them.

Kalhaṇa's Chronicle comes to a close with the year 1149-50 A.D. For the rest of the period of the Hindu rule, we have to rely on Jonarāja, the court poet of Jainu-l-abidin. In his *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Jonarāja takes up the thread of history where Kalhaṇa leaves it and carries it up to his master's reign. His account, though brief, is clear and authentic, but in it, one misses the mind of a great historian.

The rest of our Kashmirian sources include a large number of local *māhātmyas*, that deal with various legends connected with the sacred sites of Kashmir. Though they use older materials, in their present form they appear to belong to a comparatively recent period. Except the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* of Jayadratha which relates in thirty-two cantos many legends of Śiva and his *avatāras* connected with famous Kashmirian *tīrthas* and which is generally considered to have been written in the 12th or 13th century A.D., there is none that can be assigned with reason to the pre-Muslim days.

In modern times, some pioneer work on Kashmirian history has been done by Troyer, Wilson, Cunningham, Cole, Sahni, Ray, Kak and above all by Aurel Stein. To Troyer we owe the first translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in an European language and though the work has fallen out of date, we can not forget that it was he who made the Chronicle accessible to the occidental scholars. Wilson's essay was an important work when it was written, and only further researches in the field diminished its great value. Cunningham's work on the coins and architecture of Kashmir still forms the basis of all researches on the subject. Cole's monograph on Kashmir monuments is a learned work and his photographs remain while many of the structures caught by his camera have crumbled down. Bishop Cowie's notes on ancient Kashmirian architecture, as a supplement to Cunningham's work is, within its short compass, a valuable work. But for our present state of knowledge about the art-history of pre-Muslim Kashmir, we are indebted largely to Dayaram Sahni. His articles in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, embodying the results of his own field work are of a very high order. H. C. Ray, in his *Dynastic History of Northern India* traces the dynastic history of the valley, from the time of Avantivarman onwards and besides the Chronicles of Kalhaṇa and Jonarāja, he utilises some relevant Muslim sources which lend special weight to his writing. Ram Chandra Kak's account of the ancient monuments of Kashmir is clear and instructive as he confines himself not only to mere description but also attempts to trace the development of different architectural styles. To him we owe an account of the unique art-remains of Harwan; his handbook of sculptures in the Pratap Singh Museum is a work without which none can do.

In connection with the early history of Kashmir, Sir Aurel Stein is a name to conjure with. He published a critical text of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the year 1892. Eight years later his English translation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, with copious notes, coupled with an analysis of the political history, a memoir on the ancient geography and a monograph on the ancient monetary system, came to light. It is indeed a monumental work which, though written more than 50 years back, is still the most substantial and authentic account in the field and will, in all probability, remain so for many years to come.

Modern writers have touched on the political and art-history of the valley as well as upon its ancient coinage and geography. But many other spheres have been left unexplored. There have been little researches on the social, economic and administrative set up of ancient Kashmir, on the faiths of the people, on its literature and on the day to day life of the common man.

The skeleton to my narrative is furnished by the celebrated work of Kalhaṇa and to supplement it, I constantly turn to other firsthand sources already referred to. To relate the tale, I have not confined myself to the acts and deeds of the king and his kinsmen alone, but also have taken into account the life of the people as a whole. The political history furnishes the background of my canvass, the true history of the Kāśmīrī people.

I add short analyses of the different chapters of the book in the hope that they would prove helpful to the reader.

The first chapter, ' The Land and the People ', deals with the ancient geography of the country and the ethnological background of the population as Geography and Ethnology are the bedrocks of a nation and shape the national life more than anything else. The section on geography is mainly derived from Stein's memoirs with a little additional informations gleaned from here and there. The latter section, on the people, is written on materials collected from several original sources. The results of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey* have also been fully utilized.

The second chapter portrays the ' Political Background ' of the people. Nothing strikingly new from the point of fact will be found in this chapter. But, for this deficiency, I may perhaps be excused, since all the relevant sources on the subject have already been utilized by Stein and Ray. Many a knotty problem of the political history has been fully discussed in this chapter and special care taken to trace the political trends of the different periods.

In the third chapter, ' Society ', I have dealt with the caste system, classes of people and the position of women. The caste system in pre-Muslim Kashmir is somewhat different from that found in contemporary kingdoms. Here we find the upper class Brāhmaṇas in one camp with other lower grades in the other, with none to bridge the gulf, between the two. Among occupational classes, the presence of a powerful landed aristocracy and a greedy official class are novelties. These two classes dominate others and their bid for power and pelf crops up in ever-increasing problems in the State. The position of woman in Kashmir was probably a little better than that found in other north Indian states in so far as women had proprietory rights and could even mount the throne.

In the pages under 'Economic Conditions' is given a detailed account of the agriculture, industry and trade. The general economic condition of the country, in a strange way, finds its reflection in the coins.

For the administrative history of Kashmir, I have utilized Kṣemendra's *Narmamālā* besides the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. The *Narmamālā*, a vivid account on the misrule and oppression of the bureaucracy, has not been taken into account by any writer so far. The great value of the work lies in its contemporary character. It corroborates and supplements some of the data of Kalhaṇa as well as supplies new materials. In the chapter on 'Administration', my object has been to trace the development of the administrative system from age to age, explaining causes and reasons that worked behind the changes.

The faiths of the people found expression through the medium of several cults. A short history of the cults has been traced out in the sixth chapter. The principal cults were as found in the plains of India, viz. Buddhism and Hinduism, the latter being divided into Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and the worship of minor Brahminical gods and goddesses. But the presence of a Nāga cult and particularly its survival throughout the period under review, are features peculiar to the valley.

Since Bühler's report, no systematic study on the Sanskrit literature of Kashmir has been undertaken. The work once memorable, is now out of date. My chapter on the Sanskrit literature is a survey of the entire literature of the valley from the earliest times upto the Muslim period, in the light of modern researches.

On the 'Archaeology' of Kashmir a bulk of literature already exists. There is little room for improvement. My chapter does not claim any startling discovery in the field, but attempts to present the art and architecture of the valley as a background to the life and character of the people and seeks to find out the hows and whys of the 'heterogeneous Kāśmīrī style'.

The last chapter is on the 'Life of the People'. A survey of the culture of Kashmir can not be complete with the study of religion, literature and art alone. Accordingly, I discuss the different aspects of the daily life of the Kashmirians, such as their food and drink, dress and ornaments, games and amusements, habits and heritages which allow us an insight into their culture.

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Physical features

KASHMIR-Jammu, is the name given to the northernmost state of the Indian Union which, generally speaking, stretches from the east of the river Indus to the west of the river Ravi.

On the Atlas you may find it roughly between 32° 17′ to 36° 58′N. and 73° 26′ to 80° 30′E. with an extent of 82,258 square miles and a population of 4,021,616 souls (according to the census of 1941).

The kingdom of ancient Kāśmīra, however, was a territory much smaller than the modern state of Kashmir-Jammu. It denoted an irregularly oval valley, 84 miles long from north-east to south-west and 20 to 25 miles broad, between 33° to 34°35′N. and 74°8′ to 75°25′E. It was surrounded by snow-capped mountains varying at different points from 12,000 to 18,000 feet in height.

Politically, ancient Kāśmīra was generally confined to its geographical limits. But at times it extended its influence beyond that boundary. According to Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), Kaspeiria lay between the land of the Darads and the land of the Kulindas on the Hyphasis and extended eastwards (Ptolemy, VII, i, 42). When Hiuen Tsang visited the valley in the middle of the 7th century A.D., he found all adjacent territories on the west and south, down to the plains, under the sway of the king of Kāśmīra. He clearly records that Takṣaśilā to the east of the Indus, Uraśā or Hazāra, Siṁhapura or the Salt Range, with the smaller hill states of Rājapurī and Parṇotsa, were not independent, but subject to Kāśmīra.[1] In the middle of the 8th century A.D., Lalitāditya conquered territories as far as Kanauj in the east and his grandson Jayāpīḍa is said to have had trials of strength with the rulers of Kanauj, Gauḍa and Nepal. Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) annexed Dārvābhisāra and some parts of the northern Punjab to the kingdom of Kāśmīra proper. Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) conquered the hilly state of Rājapurī and among the neighbouring kingdoms which acknowledged his supremacy were Campā, Vallāpura, Lohara, Uraśā, Kānda and Kāṣṭhavāṭa.[2]

The characteristic physical features of Kāśmīra are its strong mountain ramparts, its lovely lakes and rivers, and its pale red Karewas.

The valley of Kāśmīra is surrounded on all sides by a chain of mountain ranges. To the north lies a series of mountains which hasten away in wild confusion to the great promontory of Nanga Parbat (26,182 feet). To the east rises Harmukh (16,903) which guards the valley of Sindh. On the south is Mahādeo looking down upon Śrīnagara, the high range of Gwash Brari (17,800 feet) and the lofty peak of Amarnāth (17,321 feet). The Pīr-Pantsāl range with peaks of 15,000 feet or more stands on the south west, over which the ancient trade routes with Punjab lay. Further north is the Toṣmaidān (14,000 feet) and in the north-west rises the majestic Kajinag (12,125 feet).

The surrounding mountain ranges have largely determined the political destiny of the valley, making it impregnable and inaccessible. While powerful neighbouring kingdoms succumbed to the onslaught of the invaders, Kāśmīra's natural defences saved her from impending foreign domination. In fact, it was not the valour of the Kāśmīrian army but the defence furnished by the mountain ramparts, which many a time turned the tide of invasion from the valley. Guarded from the outer world by chains of mountains, Kāśmīra was able to preserve her ancient culture for a considerable time and to develop her social and economic system in her own way.

The valley is dotted with numerous lakes that shine like gems under a sunlit sky; rivers run with merry ripple to bear the bulk of Kāśmīra's trade. While they add to the charm of the valley, they also serve as very useful commercial waterways from a remote time. In fact, in ancient times, there were few roads fit for wheeled traffic and communication with outer territories was restricted to difficult bridle-paths and tracks passable only to load-carrying coolies. The bulk of the country's internal as well as external trade was carried by riverways. The position of most of the towns of ancient Kāśmīra on river banks, shows the historical importance of riverine trade and traffic[3].

The Uḍars or Karewas are names given to the alluvial plateaus of Kāśmīra, which, according to most geologists, were formed by lacustrine deposits. They range in height from 100 to 300 feet above the level of the ravines and valleys that intersect them and that are cut into twins by the swift-flowing mountain streams rushing to the river Vitastā. The area covered by each Uḍar varies from 5 to 50 square miles. The Uḍars with inferior quality of soil are less productive than the even fertile lands of the valley. In ancient times, when the population of the valley was probably much larger than at present, the whole land was intensively cultivated. The Karewas and even the mountain slopes were not spared. Consequently, a very detailed arrangement had to be made for their irrigation. Many of the irrigation channels which are visible now, are of ancient date. The chronicles also refer to some of the water-courses which were conducted over the Uḍars from the higher ground behind. A large number of Uḍars being isolated, water can not be brought over them. Their productivity depends solely upon rainfall. The chief crops, they yield, are barley, maize and wheat.

KĀŚMĪRA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

The name of Kāśmīra does not occur in the Vedic literature. In the Ṛgvedic hymns mention is made of a river called the Marudvṛdhā[4]. Some scholars identify it with the small Kāśmīrian stream Maruwardwan which flows from north to south and joins the Chenab on its northern bank at Kishtwār and on the basis of this identification conclude that 'the Aryans held a part at least of the secluded vale of Kāśmīra'[5]. But the identification of the river Marudvṛdhā with the Kāśmīrian stream Maruwardwan is doubtful[6]. In the *Atharvasaṁhitā* we find mention of some northern tribes like the Bahlīkas, Mahāvṛṣas, Gandhāris and Mujavats[7]. It is not known whether any of them lived in Kāśmīra. But as the fever (*takman*) is called upon to go to these tribes, it seems likely that they lived outside the Aryan zone. The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* refer to some of the tribes who lived in the north-west, such as the Gandhāras, Kekayas, Madras and Ambaṣṭhas[8]. None of them, however, seem to bear any evidence of direct touch with the valley of Kāśmīra.

In Sanskrit literature, the earliest reference to Kāśmīra is found in Pāṇini's grammar and in Patañjali's great commentary on it. There the term Kaśmīra and its derivation Kāśmīra are stated as the name of the country and its inhabitants, respectively. The *Mahābhārata* refers in several passages to the Kāśmīras and their king, but in a way which merely indicates that the valley was situated in hilly regions to the north of India[9].

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Similarly some of the *Purāṇas* refer to the Kāśmīras in the list of northern nations, but do not furnish any further information about them.[10] Varāhamihira (*c.* A.D. 500) in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* includes the Kāśmīras in the north-eastern division. Of the other tribes who lived in this region, he mentions the Abhisāras, Daradas, Dārvas, Khaśas, Kīras, etc.[11], the tribes who are known from other sources to have inhabited Kāśmīra and its neighbouring regions in historical periods. Śrī Harṣa in his *Ratnāvalī* (7th century A.D.) refers to the saffron of the Kāśmīra country, which was best of all types of saffrons, both in colour and in scent (*Kāśmīradeśaje kṣetre kuṁkumaṁ yadbhaveddhi tat* ı *Sūkṣmakeśaramāraktaṁ padmagandhi taduttamaṁ* ıı).

The earliest note on Kāśmīra by foreigners occurs in the writings of Hecataeus who refers to Kaspapyros, the city of the Gandarians. Herodotus mentions the city of Kaspatyros as the place at which embanked the expedition under Scylax of Koryanda, sent by Darius to explore the course of the Indus and distinctly places it in the Paktyan land. Dionysios of Samos, whose date is not known mentions the Kaspeiroi as one of the tribes of India who were famous for their fast feet. The name of the Kaspeiroi is also met with in the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos as a tribe which rose in arms against Bacchos (Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Eng. tr. Vol. II, pp. 352-53).

Ptolemy (*c.* 150 A.D.) in his geographical account of India, refers to a region called Kaspeira lying 'below the sources of the Bidaspes (Vitastā) and of the Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and of the Adris (Irāvatī)' (VII, i, 42). His assignment of the territory between the *Daradrai* or Dards on the Indus and *Kylindrine* on the Biās and eastwards seems to be on the whole correct. But his further statement that the region held by the Kaspeiraeans extended eastwards from the land of the Pandoouoi on the Bidaspes as far as mount Ouïndion or the Vindhyas (VII, i, 47) is undoubtedly exaggerated.

It is not possible to ascertain the earliest Chinese reference to Kāśmīra, since the term, 'Ki-pin', was used by them in a vague and general fashion to a number of territories on the northern confines of India. It might have denoted at first the Kophen–Kabul of the Greeks and then perhaps the Śaka State of northern India.[12] In the Kuṣāṇa period the word meant the Kuṣāṇa empire, which included Kāpiśī and Kāśmīra and much else.[13] But the Chinese notices of Ki-pin too, even if they had occasionally denoted Kāśmīra, lack characteristic local details.[14]

The first Chinese traveller to enter the valley of Kāśmīra was probably Che-mong. He visited Kāśmīra shortly after 404 A.D.[15] In 420 A.D. another Chinese, Fa-yong, started for India, along with twenty-five Buddhist monks. Fa-yong is said to have passed more than a year in Kāśmīra where he studied the Buddhist texts and the Sanskrit language.[16]

A Chinese record dated 541 A.D., while referring to an Indian envoy sent to China in the early period of the Tang dynasty, describes the northern part of India as a country 'enveloped on all sides like a precious jewel by the snowy mountains with a valley in the south which leads up to it and serves as the gate of the kingdom'.[17] Undoubtedly, this is a distinct reference to the valley of Kāśmīra.

Hiuen Tsang visited Kāśmīra in the year 631 and stayed there for two years. His account of the land is full and accurate. His description of the kingdom of *Kia-shi-mi-lo* shows that it included within its limit the great basin of the Vitastā and the side valleys drained by its tributaries above the Bārāmūla defile. He observes that the valley is surrounded on all sides by mountains which have saved it from the onslaughts of the neighbouring states. The land is said to have been fruitful and fertile and the climate cold with plenty of snowfall.

The great pilgrim also records the story of Kāśmīra's conversion into Buddhism by Majjhantika. During the time of Kaniṣka the great Buddhist council was held here, but at the time of his visit, the country was not much given to that faith and the sole thought of the people was for the temples of the heretics.

Hiuen Tsang saw four Aśokan *stūpas* and records the erection of one by Kaniṣka, none of which are visible now. Some of the other contemporary *vihāras*, noticed by him, however, have been identified with the help of the Chronicle of Kalhaṇa. The Chinese visitor refers both to the new capital Śrīnagara and also the old one, Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna. He entered the valley by the route which lay south-east of Uraśā and reached the western gate of the valley in the gorge of Bārāmūla. The road by which he left, presumably lay over the Toṣmaidān pass[18].

The next Chinese notice of Kāśmīra is found in the annals of the Tang dynasty which mentions the arrival of an embassy in the Chinese court from Kāśmīrian king *Tchen-to-lo-pi-lo* shortly after A.D. 713 and another from his brother *Mu-to-pi*. *Tchen-to-lo-pi-lo* seems to be Candrāpīḍa, and his brother

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Mu-to-pi is undoubtedly Muktāpīḍa. The annals of the Tang dynasty further refer to the city of *Po-lo-ou-lo-po-lo*, i.e., Pravarapura and to the river *Mi-na-si-to*, i.e., the Vitastā.[19]

In the middle of the 8th century A.D. Kāśmīra was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong. He seems to have entered the valley from Gandhāra in the year 759 A.D. by the same route through which Hiuen Tsang came. He spent four years in Kāśmīra for studying Sanskrit. Some of the *vihāras* mentioned by him have been identified by Stein. Ou-kong saw more than three hundred *vihāras* in the valley besides numerous *stūpas* and images of Buddha.

Ou-kong describes the kingdom of Kāśmīra as enclosed on all sides by mountains. Among the routes which pierced them he mentions three, leading, respectively, to *Tou-fan* or Tibet in the east, *Po-liu* or Baltistan in the north and *Kien-to-lo* or Gandhāra in the west. Another route, which Ou-kong says 'is always closed, and opens only when an imperial army honours it with a visit' may be one of the routes leading over the Pīr Pantsāl range on the south.[20]

The informations that may be scrapped together from the Muslim writers on the historical geography of Kāśmīra, are indeed scanty. According to Al-Masudi Kāśmīra is a land with many towns and villages, enclosed on all sides by mountains, through which leads a single passage closed by a gate. This is practically everything that writers like Al-Qazwini, Al-Idrisi and other Arab geographers tell us about Kāśmīra.[21]

The only Arabic work, which furnishes us with a very detailed and accurate account of the valley of Kāśmīra is Alberuni's *Kitab-ul-Hind*. Alberuni seems to have gathered most of his informations about Kāśmīra during his long stay at Ghazna and in the Punjab between A.D. 1017 and 1030. He was particularly interested about Kāśmīra because it was the seat of all Hindu sciences at the time and he distinctly states that among his informants there were many Kāśmīrian scholars.[22]

Alberuni correctly places Kāśmīra in that mountainous region which lies between the Central Asian watershed and the plains of Punjab. Some of the habits and customs of the Kāśmīrian people referred to by him receive confirmation from Sanskrit sources. The Kāśmīrians of his time, were very conscious of the natural strength of their valley and closely guarded all the frontier routes. At that time the best known entrance to Kāśmīra from the west led through the central portion of Hazāra to Manshera and then across the Kunhār (Kusnārī) and Kiṣangaṅgā (Mahwī) rivers to Muzaffarābād and then by the right of the Jhelum valley to Bārāmūla. As you left the village of Uṣkur on the way, you reached the Adhiṣṭhāna, i.e., the capital Śrīnagara. It stood on both the banks of the Jhelum joined by bridges and ferry boats. The area of the capital was about four *farsakh.*

The courses of river Jailam, i.e., Jhelum have also been traced with much accuracy by the Arab scholar From the foot of the mountains it was two days' journey along the river to reach the capital. About four *farsakh* further from Adhiṣṭhāna, the river reached a large swamp.

The mountainous regions of Bolor and Shamīlān, that lie nearly two days' march away from the Bārāmūla gorge, were inhabited by Turkish tribes called Bhattavaryān. Their king had the title of Bhatta Shāh. Bolor is undoubtedly Baltistān. As Alberuni refers to Gilgit, Aswira (Hasor, i.e. Astor,) and Shiltās (Cilās) as the chief places of this region in his subsequent notes, there can be no doubt that this mountainous region is the country of the Darads and the Baltīs.

Alberuni mentions the fortress of Lauhur which was situated at a distance of 56 miles from the capital. Stein identifies it with the fortress of Lohara, the Loharakoṭṭa of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.*[23] The Muslim scholar closes his chapter on the geography with an account of the Rājāwarī, which is undoubtedly the town of Rājapurī, the capital of the hill state of Rājapurī, mentioned in the Chronicle. It was the farthest limit to which the Muslim traders of Alberuni's time could reach, and beyond which they never crossed.[24]

The last foreign writer of our period, who has left an account of Kāśmīra is Marco Polo (middle of the 13th century A.D.). He mentions Kashimur as a province inhabited by a people who were idolators and had a language of their own. They were acquainted with the devilries of enchantment and could perform many supernatural acts.

Marco Polo also speaks of some of the habits and customs of the Kāśmīrians, their food and drink and of their physical features. He states 'there are number of towns and villages in the country, but also forests and desert tracts and strong passes, so that the people have no fear of anybody, and keep their independence with a king of their own to rule and do justice'. The Venetian traveller's evidence about the natural defences of the valley receives corroboration from Alberuni and Ou-kong.

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Marco Polo refers to a number of idolators' abbeys and monasteries which were found in the kingdom of Kāśmīra and mentions that the coral which was carried from this part of the world, had a better market here than that of any other country.[25]

The indigenous literature of Kāśmīra throws a flood of light on the early geography and topography of the land.

The earliest Sanskrit literature of the valley, so far known, is the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*. To quote the words of Bühler, it is 'a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kāśmīra and their legends'. Besides the references to the legendary origin of Kāśmīra and the rites and worships prescribed by Nīla and observed by the people, the work dilates upon such various topics as the principal Nāgas or sacred springs of Kāśmīra, the origin of the Volur lake, the places consecrated to Śiva and Viṣṇu, the sacred river confluences and lakes, the chief *tīrthas* of the land and in the end upon the sanctity of the river Vitastā.[26]

Kṣemendra, the polyhistor, in his *Samayamātṛkā* furnishes us with some useful informations about the topographical details of his country. His heroine Kaṅkālī travels through the length and breadth of Kāśmīra. Many of the places visited by her can be traced out on the map. To him we owe the first reference to the Pīr Pantsāl route (Pañcāladhārā).[27]

Not long after Kṣemendra came Somadeva, the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. He describes Kāśmīra as a region in the south of the Himalayas washed by the waters of the Vitastā. He mentions some of the holy sites of the valley such as the Vijayakṣetra, Nandikṣetra, Varāhakṣetra, Maṇḍapakṣetra and Uttararāmamānasa and the town of Hiraṇyapura[28].

Bilhaṇa, who lived during the reigns of Kalaśa and Harṣa, has also left an account of his native valley. In the last chapter of his poem, the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, he gives us a vivid picture of the Kāśmīrian capital and the village of Khonamuṣa where he was born. His account, apart from its poetical beauties, is full of local details.[29]

For the history, as well as for the early geography of Kāśmīra, Kalhaṇa's Chronicle is a very important document. In the first book of his work, he gives us an account of the legends relating to the creation of Kāśmīra and its sacred river, the Vitastā, and refers, besides, to the most famous of the many *tīrthas* in which Kāśmīra was abundant.[30] But this description, though interesting, is not of much importance from the historical view point. More important, for the historical geography of Kāśmīra, is the mass of incidental references of topographical interest scattered throughout the poem.

Ancient Kāśmīra was really rich in holy places and objects of pilgrimages were planted throughout the valley. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kāśmīra was a country where there was not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a *tīrtha*.[31] The springs which had their tutelary deities in the form of Nāgas, the streams and rivers with particular sacred legends attached to each of them, innumerable places connected with the worship of various gods and goddesses—all these and many more have been frequently mentioned by Kalhaṇa. They have some topographical importance as they enable us to trace with more or less certainty the early history of most of the popular places of pilgrims visited up to the present day. The marvellous accuracy of Kalhaṇa's topographical knowledge about some of the *tīrthas* tends to show that he visited them personally.

Numerous references made by Kalhaṇa regarding the origin of towns, cities, villages, estates and shrines are also of great topographical importance. His knowledge about the birth of these towns and shrines seems to have been gathered from ' the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants of land by former kings '.[32] Some of his notices were probably based on less authentic sources, but even then it must be admitted that they acquaint us with the ' names of the respective localities and buildings as used in the official language of Kalhaṇa's time, and with the traditions then current regarding their origin and date '.

The system of nomenclature followed in ancient Kāśmīra preserves a genuine tradition regarding their founder. In cases of towns and cities, the appellation *pura* is attached to the name of the founder. In cases of religious structures, terms indicating the deity or the object to which the building was dedicated, follow.

The notices of the foundations of town, etc., made by Kalhaṇa, are sometimes accompanied by accurate description of the sites chosen and of structures connected with them. Mention may be made in this connection about his descriptions of the towns of Pravarapura, Parihāsapura, and Jayapura-Dvāravatī. It is Kalhaṇa's accurate description, which alone has helped future scholars to identify some of the ruined sites of present times with famed cities of the past.[33] The seventh and eighth books of Kalhaṇa are full and elaborate with detailed topographical informations. Our knowledge about some of the localities, whose mere mention is found in the first six books, is corroborated from the detailed account of these sites, as furnished in the last two books. Often in connection with the accounts of sieges, rebellions, internal conflicts which raged during the reign of Lohara dynasty, Kalhaṇa incidentally tells us so much about the various localities connected with those events, that we can clearly trace them on the map. His topographical exactness is strikingly revealed from such accounts as the regulation of the waters of the Vitastā by Suyya (which help us to trace the original course of the river and the changed course which resulted after the regulation), the sieges of Śrīnagara under Sussala, the battle on the Gopādri hill in the same period, the blockade of Lohara and the siege of the Śiraḥśilā castle.

The poet Mankha was a contemporary of Kalhaṇa. In the third canto of his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, he gives an account of Pravarapura, the capital of Kāśmīra.[34]

Among other texts of topographical interest mention may be made of *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* of Jayadratha[35]. Jayadratha seems to have lived at the end of the 12th or at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. In his thirty-two cantos he deals with a number of legends connected with Śiva and his *avatāras*. Of these, eight legends are centred round well-known Kāśmīrian *tīrthas* and afford the author an opportunity of describing various sacred sites of Kāśmīra, connected directly or indirectly with them. Jayadratha's detailed account shows the gradual development of legends connected with different places of pilgrimages since the days of Kalhaṇa.

The numerous *Sthānamāhātmyas* of Kāśmīra, of which 51 have already been recorded are also interesting sources for early historical geography of Kāśmīra. They generally set forth the different legends connected with different places of pilgrimages, the merit to be acquired by their visits and the rites to be performed in each of the sites. Though most of them seem to be written in a considerably late period, they contain many early materials and local traditions, and are thus valuable for a systematic study of the old topography of the valley.

POLITICAL DIVISION

From ancient times Kāśmīra has been divided into two principal parts—Kamrāz and Marāz. In Sanskrit texts of the valley they have been referred to as Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya. According to prevailing tradition, Kamrāz comprises the *parganās* on both sides of the river Vitastā below Śrīnagara while Marāz, comprises those above it. That the division was similar, in ancient times, is proved by an examination of all passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and later chronicles which refer to Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya. A similar result is also arrived at from Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* where it is said that 'the whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions. Marāj on the east, and Kamrāj on the west'.[36]

In early days, each of the divisions Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya was further sub-divided into several *viṣayas*. How many *viṣayas* there actually were in ancient Kāśmīra, we do not know. According to Abul Fazal's list Kāśmīra was subdivided into forty-one *parganās* at first, which, after the amalgamation of some of them was reduced to thirty-eight. Some of these *parganās* must have existed from a remote period since they are found in their ancient forms, referred to as *viṣayas* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and other chronicles. According to the *Lokaprakāśa* Kāśmīra was sub-divided into twenty-seven *viṣayas*, of which nineteen are specifically mentioned. But the modern look of many of these names prevents us from placing too much credence on its evidence.

Among the *viṣayas* of Maḍavarājya, Kalhaṇa mentions Khaḍūvī[37], Holaḍā[38], Karāla[39] and Devasarasa.[40]

Stein has identified Khaḍūvī with the modern *parganā* of Vihī. The village Khaḍūvī which was situated in this *viṣaya* and from which the name of the *viṣaya* was derived seems to be same as the present village of Khruv. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the Ḍāmaras of Khaḍūvī are spoken of as lying in ambush near Padmapura[41]. It is interesting to note that Pampar, which stands on the ancient site of Padmapura, is one of the principal towns of Vihī.

The *viṣaya* of Holaḍā seems to be the same as the present *parganā* of Vular. A passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* places it in Maḍavarājya.[42] Another passage records that two officers of king Jayasiṁha were besieged by the Ḍāmaras of Holaḍā within the Avantisvāmin temple of Avantipura.[43] It must be noted that Avantipura is still situated in the Vular *parganā*. Kalhaṇa refers to the Ḍāmaras of Holaḍā and Khaḍūvī side by side.[44] Khaḍūvī, which has been identified with Vihī, is still a neighbouring *parganā* of Vular. Jonarāja mentions Holaḍā as Holarā[45] which is not very removed from the modern transcription Vular.

Devasarasa is undoubtedly the present *parganā* of Divasar situated in the south-east of the valley on the upper course of the Viśokā. Kalhaṇa frequently refers to this *viṣaya* in his Chronicle.[46] The comparative early date of the *viṣaya* is suggested by its mention in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.[47]

The *viṣaya* of Karāla has been mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[48] but Kalhaṇa's reference does not help us to locate it. Jonarāja and Śrīvara's chronicles[49] place the town of Jainapurī founded by Sultan Jainu-l-abidin in the Karāla viṣaya (*pargaṇā*). Jainapurī is the modern Zainpur which has given its name to that tract of Advin *pargaṇā* which lies on the alluvial plateau to the south of the Rembyar river. That this tract is to be identified with the Karāla *viṣaya* is further confirmed by the glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka who places Karāla in Ardhavane, i.e., in Advin.[50]

Jonarāja furnishes us with the information of several more *viṣayas* situated in the Kramarājya in addition to those given by Kalhaṇa. These were the *viṣayas* of Vāmapārśva, Mārtaṇḍa, Jainapura and Nāgrāma.

The *viṣaya* of Vāmapārśva, twice referred to by Jonarāja[51] meaning 'left side' is undoubtedly an earlier designation of the modern *pargaṇā* of Khovurpor which also means the left side. The name Vāmapārśva or Khovurpor may be due to its position on the left, i.e., on the eastern portion of the Lidār valleys.

Mārtaṇḍadeśa of Jonarāja[52] seems to represent the modern *pargaṇā* of Maṭan. The name of Maṭan occurs in the list of Kāśmīrian *pargaṇā* given by Abul Fazal which indicates that the change of name took place during the intervening period. It is also not unlikely that the name Maṭan existed already in the time of Jonarāja, but he used the Sanskritic term Mārtaṇḍa in preference to that name. The name of the *viṣaya* was evidently derived from the Mārtaṇḍatīrtha and the temple of Mārtaṇḍa that stood within its limits.

The Jainapura *pargaṇā*, referred to by Jonarāja[53] owed its name from the town of Jainapurī founded by Jainu-l-abidin. The creation of the new *pargaṇā*, wresting a part of the ancient *viṣaya* of Karāla[54] was evidently an event of Jainu-l-abidin's reign.

Nāgrāma, mentioned by Jonarāja[55] and Śrīvara[56] seems to represent the modern *pargaṇā* of Nagam. But from the nature of its mention in the later chronicles it is not clear enough whether Nāgrāma was a *viṣaya* at that time or indicated merely the name of a place. The village of Arigom, which has been identified with Hāḍigrāma mentioned in the

Rājataraṅgiṇī[57] and from where a stone inscription of 1197 A.D. has been recovered, is the only known place of historical importance in this *pargaṇā*.

Śrīvara mentions two additional *viṣayas* of Maḍavarājya, which seem to have been from the pre-Muhammadan period. Of these, Dakṣiṇapāra undoubtedly is the ancient name of the Dachunpor *pargaṇā*. Dakṣiṇapārśva, referred to in the *Lokaprakāśa* and *Mārtaṇḍamāhātmya* is probably a different form of the same *viṣaya*. The Ikṣikā of Śrīvara[58] represents the modern *pargaṇā* of Yech which extends to the immediate vicinity of Śrīnagara.

Of the *viṣayas* of Kramarājya mentioned by Kalhaṇa, Lahara *viṣaya* is the same as the modern district of Lar, which includes the whole of the territory drained by the Sind and its tributaries. The identity is suggested by Bhaṭṭa Hāraka's gloss on the Lahara *viṣaya* as well as from the topographical details contained in some of the passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[59] and later chronicles.[60]

The *viṣaya* of Śamālā referred to in numerous passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[61] and later chronicles[62] is the ancient name of the modern *pargaṇā* of Hamal, the latter being a direct phonetic derivative of the former. Vanagrāma, which from Kalhaṇa's account[63] seems to indicate a locality near about Śamālā, may be identical with the present village of Vangram, in the Hamal *pargaṇā*. Laulaha of Kalhaṇa[64] seems to preserve the old name of the present Lolab *pargaṇā* to the north-west of the Volur lake. But from Kalhaṇa's solitary reference, it is not definite whether the locality formed a *viṣaya* in the pre-Muhammadan period.

The *viṣaya* of Uttara[65] mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is in all probability, the same as the Uttar *pargaṇā* of the present day, which occupies the northern-most part of Kamrāz (Kramarājya). Kalhaṇa speaks of a locality called Ghoṣa which was situated in Uttara. It is evidently the present village of Guṣ, in the centre of the Uttar *pargaṇā*, near the confluence of the Kamil river and the stream from Lolan.

Khuyāśrama[66] is undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern Khuyahom *pargaṇā* which comprises the northern shore of the Volur lake and the valleys opening out from it. Śrīvara's Chronicle also contains the name of Khoyāśrama.[67]

In close proximity to Khuyāśrama, stood the *Viṣaya* of Evanaka[68] consisting probably of that tract of land which stretched on the north-east shore of the Volur. The exact location of the *viṣaya*, however, is not possible at present. In the *Tīrthasaṁgraha* Mahāpadmanāga, i.e., the Volur is said to have been situated in Evenaviṣaya.[69]

Bhāṅgila of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[70] corresponds to the present *parganā* of Banjil, to the south west of Paraspor. This ancient *viṣaya* has been also referred to in Jonarāja's and Śrīvara's chronicles.[71] Closely adjacent to it, was situated the ancient town of Paṭan.

Jonarāja supplies us with the names of two other *viṣayas* of ancient Kāśmīra, which have not found a place in Kalhaṇa's work. Of these Bahurūpa[72] is the old name of the modern Biru *parganā*. The name of the *viṣaya* was probably derived from the ancient *tīrtha* of Bahurūpa[73] which was situated within it. Jainagiri, the other *viṣaya*,[74] owes its name to Jainu-l-abidin. It comprised the fertile Karewa tract between the Vular and the left bank of the Pohur river. The earlier name of the tract can not be traced out.

TOWNS AND CITIES

The Greek geographer Hecataeus (500 B.C.) mentions a city called Kaspapyros. According to him it was a city of the Gandarians. Herodotus (484-431 B.C.) evidently refers to the same city by the name of Kaspatyros. Lassen, Humboldt and some other scholars take it for Kāśmīra.[75] It is, however, to be remembered that Kaspatyros or Kaspapyros was the name of a city whereas Kāśmīra stood for a kingdom. According to Ptolemy (*c.* 150 A.D.) the capital of Kaspeiria, i.e., Kāśmīra was Kaspeira.[76] From the above account of the classical writers it seems that there was perhaps a city in ancient Kāśmīra, which was called Kaspapyros or Kaspatyros or Kaspeira, whichever might have been the more correct form. This ancient city, however, can not be located.

If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, in the 3rd century B.C. the Maurya emperor Aśoka built in Kāśmīra the town of Śrīnagarī[77] which up to the end of the 6th century A.D. was the capital of the valley. It is highly probable that it stood on the modern site of Pāndreṭhan, Kalhaṇa's Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna on the right bank of the Vitastā, about three miles above the modern Śrīnagara. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is recorded that Jalauka, son of Aśoka, founded the shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra at Śrīnagarī.[78] Whether the existing temple on the Takht-i-Sulaimān hill about two miles to the north-east of Pāndreṭhan represents the shrine of

Jyeṣṭharudra, is a controversial matter. But Aurel Stein has correctly shown that Jalauka's Jyeṣṭharudra must be looked for either on the very hill or in its close proximity.[79] In this neighbourhood must also be placed Aśoka's Śrīnagarī.

When Hiuen Tsang visited Kāśmīra in 631 A.D. it was no more the capital. He states that the capital of his time was the new city and the old city lay to the south east of it at a distance of ten *li* and to the south of a high mountain. The account seems to agree with the relative positions of Pāndreṭhan and modern Śrīnagara.[80]

The three Turuṣka kings Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka who probably ruled in the early centuries of the Christian era, are said to have built, respectively, the cities of Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura and Kaniṣkapura.[81] Of these three cities, Huṣkapura has been located by Cunningham at the modern village of Uṣkur, two miles to the south-east of the present town of Bārāmūla. That Huṣkapura was very near to Varāhamūla is evident from a remark of Kalhaṇa where he says that king Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958) proceeded to die at Varāhakṣetra close to Huṣkapura.[82] When Hiuen Tsang entered Kāśmīra he stopped at *Hu-se-kia-lo*, i.e., at Uṣkur after passing the ancient gate of Varāhamūla.[83] In the 11th century A.D. Alberuni noticed Uṣkārā as lying opposite 'Bārāmūla'.[84] Remains of an ancient *vihāra* and a *stūpa* can be seen near the village. In all probability they belong to the period of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya.[85] An ancient *stūpa*, on which the *stūpa* of the Karkoṭa period was built is visible. This earlier one may go as far back as the days of the later Kuṣāṇas.

Juṣkapura may be identified with the modern village of Zukur to the north of the present capital of Śrīnagara. In the materials used in the Muhammadan tombs and mosques of Zukur a considerable number of stone pillars and mouldings of the style of architecture peculiar to ancient Kāśmīra are discernible, which may show that the town was an important locality in ancient days.

Stein, on the basis of the evidence of the glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka, identifies Kaniṣkapura with the village of Kanespur, situated between the Vitastā and the high road leading from Bārāmūla to Śrīnagara.[86] Carved stones and ancient coins, occasionally extracted from the site, point out its remote antiquity.

If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, not long after the Turuṣka kings, Abhimanyu (I) founded a town called Abhimanyupura which abounded in wealth and had a Śiva temple as its crest-ornament.[87] The location of the town is not known, but some scholars conjecture that it may be the present village of Bimyun, situated in marshy ground about four miles to the south-west of Śrīnagar. Another town Narapura, was built by king Nara. Kalhaṇa's description of this town is very full and elaborate. He says that it was situated on the sandy bank of the Vitastā. The markets of the towns were kept full of supplies by the highroads leading to it and the sails of a hundred ships plying up and down gave splendour to the river. With its gardens full of swelling flowers and fruits, it was, as it were, a synonym for ' heaven ' and it surpassed even Kubera's town by the riches amassed there through the conquest of the world.[88] Another name of this town was Kiṁnarapura. Kiṁnarapura, says Kalhaṇa, was encircled by walls.[89] It is not unlikely that the ancient towns of Kāśmīra were generally defended by walls built around them. Local tradition places Narapura in the immediate vicinity of Vijabror. Kalhaṇa's mention of the shrine of Cakradhara in the neighbouring region of the town of Narapura[90] tallies with the position of Tsakadar, near Vijabror and this goes to confirm the local tradition about the situation of Narapura.

The credit for the foundation of the city of Vijayeśvara round the ancient shrine of Śiva Vijayeśa goes to a Kāśmīrian king Vijaya by name.[91] The site has been identified with the present town of Vijabror.

About the end of the 6th century A.D., king Pravarasena II built a city called Pravarasenapura. The city has been located at Śrīnagara, the present capital of Kāśmīra. The identity is based upon Hiuen Tsang and Kalhaṇa's testimony. From Hiuen Tsang's account we learn that at his time the new capital i.e. Pravarapura was situated north-west of Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna, at a distance of ten *li*. This is exactly the relative position of modern Śrīnagara and Pāndreṭhan. Hiuen Tsang says that he resided in the Jayendravihāra during his stay in the capital of Kāśmīra.[92] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* relates that this very *vihāra* was built by Pravarasena II's maternal uncle in the new capital.[93] Kalhaṇa describes the city of Pravarapura as situated at the confluence of two rivers with a hill in the centre of it.[94] This is an exact description of the present Śrīnagara.

Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, and Mankha's statements regarding the position of Pravarapura also agree with the site occupied by modern Śrīnagara.[95] Kalhaṇa's long list of buildings and localities in the new capital can also be identified within the present Śrīnagara or in its neighbouring regions.[96]

Kalhaṇa states that the city of Pravarapura, when it was founded by king Pravarasena II, contained as many as thirty-six lakhs of houses. There were regularly arranged markets within the city. The mansions were so high as to seem reaching up to the clouds. The temples were endowed with rich gifts. The conjunction of two streams near the city added to its charm.[97] In the 11th century A.D. Bilhaṇa found the city equally charming, which, according to him, was not only the principal city of Kāśmīra, but surpassed in beauty all other cities, even Kuvera's town Laṅkā and the town of the gods.[98] For its coolness in summer and for the beauty of its groves, says Bilhaṇa, even those who have reached the garden of the celestials could not forget it.[99]

From the end of the 6th century onwards, Pravarapura was the capital of Kāśmīra. How did it lose its own name and assume that of the old city of Śrīnagara, is difficult to say. As both the cities existed side by side for more than five centuries, perhaps it was the old name that remained in common use with the people, in preference to the new name, as the customary designation of the capital. Ultimately the old familiar name of Śrīnagara seems to have swamped the name of the new city of Pravarasenapura.

About the middle of the 7th century A.D. Pratāpāditya II, son of Durlabhavardhana, founded a town called Pratāpapura, which, according to the poetic assertion of Kalhaṇa, rivalled the city of Indra in splendour. Bhaṭṭa Hāraka's gloss identifies the town with the modern village of Tāpar situated on the high way from Varāhamūla to Śrīnagara. The identification receives support from a verse in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, where Pratāpapura is said to be lying on the route of Sussala's retreat from Śrīnagara to Lohara via Varāhamūla.[100]

The great Kāśmīrian king Lalitāditya, about the middle of the 8th century A.D. founded the city of Parihāsapura, which, according to Kalhaṇa, mocked the residence of Indra in its splendour. In this newly built city, Lalitāditya erected five great buildings which have been named in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as Parihāsakeśava, Muktākeśava, Mahāvarāha, Govardhanadhara and Rājavihāra. The first four were temples dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu. The last one was a Buddhist convent.

Cunningham placed Parihāsapura on the right or eastern bank of the Behat near the village of Sambal.[101] But his identification is unsupported by any evidence. According to Stein, ancient Parihāsapura lay in the present *parganā* of Paraspor and comprised the little tract lying between the marshes of the Manymor and Hartrath on the left bank of the Vitastā, immediately to the sonth-west of Shādipūr. The identity is based upon the phonetic similarity of Parihāsapura and Paraspor. Besides, ruins of several large temples and a *vihāra*, each of which seems to have consisted of a central edifice and an enclosing quadrangle (some of them measuring considerably in excess of those of Lalitāditya's temple of Mārtaṇḍa) have been found on the site. They are, in all probability, the Viṣṇu temples and the Buddhist *vihāra* of Parihāsapura said, in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, to have been erected by Lalitāditya.[102] According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the shrine of Vainyasvāmin was situated at Parihāsapura.[103] This shrine can be identified with certainty with the ruined temple of Malikpor about a mile from the ruins of temples in the north of Parihāsapura.

The causes for the utter ruin of the city of Parihāsapura are not far to seek. The royal seat at Parihāsapura was removed by Vajrāditya shortly after Lalitāditya's death which must have diminished its importance.[104] The irrigation operations of Avantivarman's minister Suyya removed the junction of the river Vitastā and Sindhu from Parihāsapura to Shādipūr as a result of which Parihāsapura lost most of its former importance. Shortly after this, Saṁkaravarman used materials from Parihāsapura, for the construction of his new town and temples at Paṭan.[105] In the 11th century A.D. king Harṣa's troops stormed Parihāsapura, burnt the Rājavihāra and broke up the silver image of Parihāsakeśava.[106] The final destruction of the city was caused by Sikandar Butshikan (A.D. 1389-1413).[107]

Lalitāditya's grandson Jayāpīḍa built two towns called Jayapura and Dvāravatī. In the former, he set up three Buddha images, a large *vihāra*, a shrine of Jayādevī and a temple of *caturātman* Keśava.[108] Both the towns, it seems, were situated upon a lake.[109] Jayapura was popularly known in Kalhaṇa's time as *abhyantara koṭṭa* and Dvāravatī as *vāhya koṭṭa*.

Jayapura has been identified with the present village of Andarkoṭh 'which lies partly on an island rising from the Sambal lake, and partly on the low lying strip of land separating that lake from the Vitastā'. Many of the ruins, found on the site, are attributed by the local people to a king named Jayāpīḍ.

One of the largest ruins on the north-west corner of the plateau has been actually recognised by Bühler [110] as a temple of Viṣṇu and this may correspond to the temple of Keśava mentioned by Kalhaṇa. Some of the oldest glossators of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also explain *abhyantara koṭṭa* of Kalhaṇa as Andarkoṭh. The town of Jayapura survived as late as the 15th century, for Śrīvara refers to it several times in his Chronicle.[111] The town of Dvāravatī, of which no further mention is found elsewhere, seems to have been placed over several detached hamlets, all belonging to Andarkoṭh, which stretch in a semicircle along the edge of the lake to the north of the island of Andarkoṭh. The ruins found here are comparatively few and they too are attributed by the local tradition to king Jayāpīḍ.

In the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. Padma, the maternal uncle of the king Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa, built the town of Padmapura.[112] It is the modern town of Pāmpar on the Vitastā. Due to its position in the middle of a fertile tract of land, Padmapura seems to have been always a place of some importance. The town has been often mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and in the later chronicles.[113]

During the reign of Avantivarman, three new towns were founded in the valley. Of these, the town of Avantipura was built by the king himself.[114] It is marked by the present village of Vāntipor, on the Vitastā. Among the ruins of this place, can be recognized the remains of the two old temples of Śiva Avantīśvara and Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin.[115] The large number of ruins extending upto the hills east of the Vāntipor tend to show that in former times the town used to cover a large area. That Avantipura was a town of considerable importance long after the date of its foundation, is vouched for by its references in the *Samayamātṛkā*,[116] the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[117] and later chronicles.[118]

The next town, Śūrapura owed its foundation to Avantivarman's minister Śūra.[119] It has been identified with the present Hurapor situated in the valley of Rembyar stream, on the route which leads to the pass of the Pīr Pantsāl. From Kalhaṇa's testimony to the transfer of the *draṅga* of Kramavarta to this place and from his other statements,[120] it is evident that Śūrapura was an important centre of trade in early days and one of the main routes of communication with the south lay through it.

The third town of this period, Sūryapura was built by Suyya, the irrigation minister of Avantivarman on the bank of the Vitastā, where she leaves the waters of the Mahāpadma.[121] It is undoubtedly the present Sopur, situated exactly in the position, referred to by Kalhaṇa.

Avantivarman's son Śaṁkaravarman, founded the city of Śaṁkarapurapattana.[122] Its identity with the present village of Paṭan on the high road from Śrīnagara to Bārāmūla, is established by Kalhaṇa's testimony who says that subsequently Saṁkarapura lost its proper appellation and became known only by the name of Pattana.[123] The temples of Śaṁkaragaurīśvara and Sugandheśa, said to have been built by Śaṁkaravarman in this place,[124] can be identified with two ruined temples of Paṭan.[125] In the pre-Muhammadan Kāśmīra, Pattana was famous for the display of woollen cloths, trade in cattle and the like.[126]

If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, queen Diddā founded two towns called Abhimanyupura and Kaṅkaṇapura; the former to increase her deceased son Abhimanyu's merit, and the latter to increase the eminence of the merit of her husband, Kaṅkanavarśa.[127] Abhimanyupura is not traceable. Kaṅkaṇapura is perhaps marked by the present village of Kangan, on the right bank of the river Sind.

THE PEOPLE

From the remotest time up to the coming of the Muhammadans, various types of people, of different races, language and culture had come to Kāśmīra, settled in the valley and had gradually merged into a homogeneous Kāśmīrī people. It is not possible to take an estimate of the specific races who came to the valley, since there is no systematic record of their infiltration. But if we look to the people of Kāśmīra we find in the very formation of their bodies, in their language and in their culture, traces of different racial characteristics.

In the early part of the 2nd century B.C. the Indo-Greek invasion of Kāśmīra seems to have taken place. Probably Demetrius and Menander and perhaps several other Indo-Greek princes ruled over portions of the valley.[128] But the Indo-Greek penetration may be taken to be more or less in the nature of military incursion and it is doubtful, whether during the Indo-Greek rule any considerable amount of race-admixture between the Yavanas and the existing Kāśmīrian people took place. The Śaka, Se or Scythians, due to the Yue-chi pressure arrived in India about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and occupied the plains of Peshawar. Sometime afterwards, a branch of the Śakas might have settled over some parts of Kāśmīra.[129] Baltistān is in the neighbourhood of Kāśmīra. The Baltis are generally considered to be the descendants of the Śakas. It is not unlikely that from Baltistān some migrations took place in Kāśmīra even in later times.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Kuṣāṇa rulers held sway over Kāśmīra. The line of Kaniṣka's rule over Kāśmīra is attested to by literary as well as numismatic evidence.[130] During the reign of these Kuṣāṇas, a large number of Yue-chis (the stock to which the Kuṣāṇas belonged) must have come and settled in Kāśmīra. Settlement of Central Asian Yue-chi-like people in the valley, about the 4th century A.D. is confirmed by carved tiles discovered at Harwan.

The Hun invasion, which swept northern India during the later part of the 5th and the earlier part of the 6th centuries A.D., had its repercussion on the history of Kāśmira. In fact, of all the regions of India it is in the secluded valley only, that the Hūṇas could find a ready shelter. Mihirakula's rule over Kāśmīra is testified to by Hiuen Tsang and Kalhaṇa.[131] Kāśmīrian names like Toramāṇa, Vasukula, Hiraṇyakula, Khiṅkhila, etc., indicate to a certain extent the influence of the Hūṇas in Kāśmīrian population.

The last foreign tribe from the north-west, who might have settled in Kāśmīra in pre-Muhammadan days, was perhaps the Gurjaras. The Gurjaras are generally considered to belong to the Hūṇa stock. But as their affiliation with the latter is not known for certain, it is better to regard them as a separate tribe, if not as a separate race. In the present population of Kāśmīra, the Gurjars, the Rajputs and the Jats, all hailing from the Gurjara stock predominate. About early Gurjara settlement in Kāśmīra, no evidence is forthcoming. Gurjara occupation of northern Punjab has, however, left indelible mark in names of localities like Guzerat or Gujranwala. Gurjara king Bhoja's occupation of certain territories in north-eastern Punjab is also hinted at in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[132] From the Pehoa inscription we further learn that the district of Karnal remained under the rules of Gurjara kings Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I.[133] Gurjara emigration into Kāśmīra might have taken place from north Punjab, presumably during the Karkoṭa period, when parts of Punjab were included in the Kāśmīra empire.

During the pre-Muhammadan period, Kāśmīra had intimate links with Tibet and some people from that country

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might be expected to have come and settled in the valley. About the existence of the Tibetans in the ancient Kāśmīrian population there is probably some evidence. The Bhauṭṭas overran the valley of Kāśmīra, according to Kalhaṇa, in the periods preceding the Hūṇa invasion.[134] A *guru* from Loh, is said to have settled in Kāśmīra.[135] Kalhaṇa also speaks of a caste called Kirāta who constituted an important community in the lower stratum of the society. The Kirātas evidently belonged to the Tibeto-Burman racial group.

Considerable migration of populations into the territory of Kāśmīra had taken place from the Indian side too. From Kalhaṇa's evidence it seems that Kāśmīra formed a part of the far-flung empire of the Mauryas. Emperor Aśoka is said to have founded the city of Śrīnagara as well as various religious establishments.[136] With the extension of the Maurya rule in the valley, it is only natural that Indian people from other parts of the Maurya empire would enter and settle in the valley. About the races and peoples who went to Kāśmīra from the plains of India in the post-Aśokan period, no definite evidence is available. But gradual and constant migration of Indian population must have taken place in Kāśmīra throughout the period of the Hindu rule. This is discernible from the essentially Sanskritic culture of the valley. The poets, playwrights and scholars of Kāśmīra composed their works in Sanskrit and even in Kāśmirīan language there are many words which are Sanskritic in origin. Some of the notable persons of pre-Muhammadan Kāśmīra actually trace their ancestry from India proper. Abhinavagupta's and Bilhaṇa's forefathers lived in Madhyadeśa whereas Abhinanda's ancestors hailed from Gauḍa.[137]

About the different races of people who entered Kāśmīra in the historic period, posterior to the days of Aśoka, a rough account at least is available. But what about those who inhabited Kāśmīra in the pre-Aśokan period? No literary or archaeological data regarding these earliest inhabitants of Kāśmīra are forthcoming. Some proto-neolithic and neolithic implements have been discovered in Kāśmīra[138] but they are too insignificant to throw any light on the culture and racial characteristics of their users.

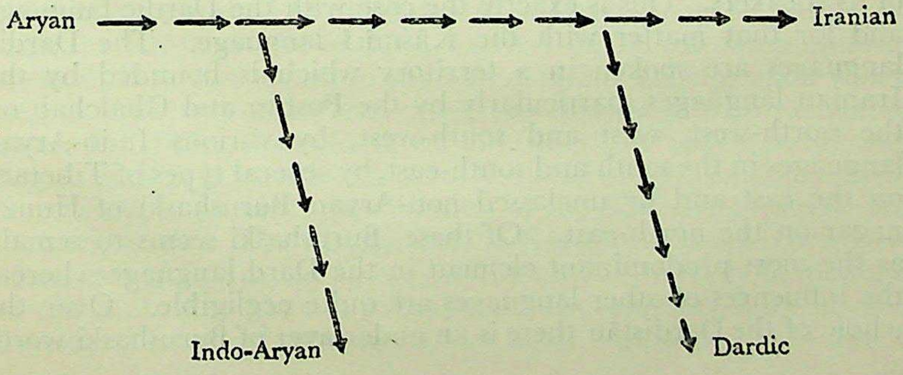
In the absence of any other evidence, linguistic palaeontology may be utilized for tracing the history of the different populations who entered Kāśmīra in the pre-historic period. In fact, a critical analysis of the Kāśmīrian language itself may be of much help in finding out the ethnic origin of its speakers.

The Kāśmīrī language contains a large number of Sanskrit words but the language itself is not of Sanskrit origin. If the vocabulary of Kāśmīra was enriched by the addition of Sanskrit words, it was only because the valley was subject to Indian influence for a long time.

The Kāsmīrī language belongs to the Dardic group, which though not Sanskritic, is Aryan in its origin.[139] The Dardic language of which Kāśmīra was a sub-branch was called Paiśācī in ancient Sanskrit literature. Though Sanskrit grammarians class it as one of the Prākṛts, it was not really a Prākṛt, but a very ancient language, which was a sister and not a daughter of that form of speech which later on developed in India as literary Sanskrit. The spheres of the Paiśācī language were generally confined to the region between the Hindu Kush and the Indian frontier.[140]

The Paiśācī or Dardic language, as Grierson has rightly pointed out[141], belonging undoubtedly to Aryan stock is nevertheless neither Iranian nor Indo-Aryan. The Dardic language and hence for that matter the Kāśmīrian language possesses certain peculiarities of its own, while in some respects it agrees with the Indo-Aryan and again in some other aspects with the Iranian languages. Neither does it contain all the characteristics of the Indo-Aryan language nor of the Iranian. It seems, therefore, that when the Dardic language issued from the Aryan language, the Indo-Aryan language had already branched forth from it, and the Aryan language had already developed along its own lines but it had not yet progressed so far as to contain all the characteristics of the Iranian.

This separation of the Dardic language from the main branch of the Aryan language and its relation with the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages may be sketched with the help of the following diagram as suggested by Grierson.



At what time the ancestors of the Dardic speakers separated themselves from the main branch of the Aryans, we do not know. But the event seems to have taken place not long after the Indo-Aryans had entered India. Whereas the Indo-Aryans entered into the valley of the river Kabul and then spread into the plains of India and the ancestors of the Iranian speakers migrated westwards, in Merv, Persia and Baluchistan, another branch of the Aryans went to the east and occupied the Pamirs, the home of the Ghalchah languages. The Ghalchah languages possess all the Iranian characteristics present in the Dardic speech, while at the same time, these very Iranian Ghalchah languages have a few peculiarities in which they follow the Dardic languages in agreeing with the Indian as against Iranian. It thus follows that the ancestors of the Dardic tribes at first lived in the Pamirs but afterwards migrated to their present habitat, Citral and Gilgit, which lie just below the Pamirs, connected with latter by the Dora and one or two other passes. From Citral and Gilgit, the Dardistān proper, the speakers of the Darad languages seem to have infiltrated into the valley of Kāśmīra and developed the Kāśmīrī tongue which forms today one of the principal members of the Darad group of languages.

But were the ancestors of the Darad speakers the earliest inhabitants of the valley of Kāśmīra or was Kāśmīra populated already, when they penetrated into it? The study of the language may again help us to find the answer.

Philology may be taken with some confidence as a guide in the cases of tribes whose languages are *morient*. When small tribes are found clinging to a dying form of speech, surrounded by powerful languages which have superseded the neighbouring speeches, and which has started to supersede this form of speech also, it may be concluded that the dying language is the original language of the land and it gives a clue to the racial affinities of its speakers. This is exactly the case with the Dardic language and for that matter with the Kāśmīrī language. The Dardic languages are spoken in a territory which is bounded by the Iranian languages, particularly by the Pushtu and Ghalchah on the north-west, west and south-west, by various Indo-Aryan languages in the south and south-east, by several types of Tibetans on the east and by unclassed non-Aryan Burushaski of Hunzā nagar on the north-east. Of these, Burushaski seems to remain as the most predominant element in the Dard language whereas the influences of other languages are quite negligible. Over the whole of the Dardistān there is an underlayer of Burushaski words and phrases. At the bottom of the Kāśmīrī language too, there is a small and unimportant element of Burushaski. As Kāśmīra proper is situated far away from the present habitat of Burushaski, it is evident that the speakers of Burushaski, the inhabitants of Hunzā-nagar, occupied the valley of Kāsmīra before the coming of the ancestors of the Dard speaking peoples. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there are references of a certain low class people called Niṣādas.[142] Can they stand for the non-Aryan Burushaski speakers?

The conclusions, arrived at after a linguistic survey of the Kāśmīrī language, seem to receive curious confirmation from a literary product of the valley. This is the Kāśmīrian *Purāṇa* called the *Nīlamata*.[143] According to this work Kāśmīra was originally inhabited by the Nāgas. The reminiscences of ancient Nāga rule are perhaps indicated by the names of lakes and springs like Vernāg, Anantanāg, Sernāg, etc. Be as it may, the Nāgas of ancient Kāśmīra, according to the *Nīlamata*, were followed by the Piśācas, with whom, however, their relation was anything but friendly. Last of all, men entered the valley. The Piśācas were at first hostile to the human beings, but afterwards had to abandon the valley rendering it as permanent home for men. Perhaps the Nāgas were the ancient people of Hunzānagar, the speakers of Burushaski, the Piśācas were the Aryan invaders, the speakers of the Piśāca or Dardic languages, and the men represented the Sanskrit speaking people of the Indian plains who entered the valley in a comparatively later period and glorified themselves in their own composition, the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.

The ethnological analysis of the Kāśmīrian people can never be complete unless and until we take an account of their physical traits both external and internal, or even to some extent their physiological characteristics. In fact only the statistics of a scientific physical examination of a large group of peoples of different strata of the society, carried on in the same uniform method, can give us some solid foundation relying upon which we can make out to a great extent the specific human races that entered Kāśmīra since the dawn of history and also ascertain the degree of their inter-mixture up to the present day. Unfortunately no systematic physical examination of the Kāśmīrian people has yet been made. The majority of the Kāśmīrian people, however, possess a light transparent brown skin and are usually of medium to tall stature. They are much dolichocephalic, have a well developed forehead, a long narrow face, regular features and a prominent, straight and finely cut leptorrhine nose. The same type is found among the people of Afghanistan, Citral, Balti and northern Punjab. The probable area of characterisation of this race, therefore, seems to have been between the Hindukush and the Sulaiman mountains, from where it spread into northern and eastern India. Linguistic evidence, as we have already seen, confirms this conclusion. This type of race which inhabits Kāśmīra, Citral, Gilgit, Afghanistan, Baltistān and Punjab is the Indo-Afghan of Haddon,[144] the Nordic of Guha,[145] the Indid of Von Eickstedt.[146]

These Indo-Afghans or Nordics who infiltrated into Kāśmīra from Gilgit and Citral are identical with the ancestors of the Darad speaking tribes, the Piśācas of the Sanskrit literature. Majority of the present Kāśmīrian people appear to be their descendants. As the racial characteristics of these Indo-Afghans from Afghanistan down to the Punjab are almost identical, it may be concluded that this race had been able to preserve their racial purity to a considerable extent and their admixture with other races had been comparatively few, due probably to the inaccessible mountainous hill-locked character of their territories.

From the historical evidence, however, it is clear that several other races had entered Kāśmīra afterwards. Some of them might have made merely military incursions, but a few of them may be expected to have settled in the valley and mixed with the existing people. About the physical features of these races, so far as we know, the Śakas were mesocephalic, with a low head, straight eyes, a well formed straight nose and projecting chin. Though essentially belonging to the Proto-Nordic steppe folk, they were undoubtedly a mixed people, when they infiltrated in the valley. The Yue-chis were of Turki descent, who appear to have been very brachycephalic with elongated oval face, broad cheek bones, straight nose, dark Mongolian eyes, thick lips, yellowish white to coppery brown complexion, medium stature and dark hair, much on face. The Huns were a mixed Turki and Tungus people, brachycephalic, with prominent cheek bones, broad flat face, dark eyes with Mongolian characteristics, black hair, very little in the body, complexion varying from yellowish to yellowish brown and medium stature. The western Tibetans who had an intimate relation with Kāśmīra in earlier days and who invaded Kāśmīra in the last days of Hindu rule under Riñcana the Bhauṭṭa were apparently xanthoderm, mesorrhine and mesocephalic. The Indians migrating from the plains into the valley naturally had various racial characteristics peculiar to them, about which we have no definite knowledge. How far these different races have influenced the Kāśmīrī people we can not say at present. The question can be answered only after an exhaustive analysis of the physical and physiognomical features of the majority of its inhabitants taken from different strata of society.

[1] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, pp. 136, 143, 147 and 163.

[2] *R. T.*, VII, 588-90.

[3] For references of frequent river journeys in early times, see *R. T.*, V, 84, VII, 347, 714, 1628 etc.

[4] *Rgveda*, X, 75, 5.

[5] H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 51.

[6] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 135-136.

[7] *Atharvaveda*, V, 22, 5. 7. 9.

[8] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X, 6.1.2.; *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V, 11, 4; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 21; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 3, 1, 7, 1.

[9] *Mahābhārata*, II, xxvii, 17.

[10] *Vāyupurāṇa*, XLV, 120, XLVII, 45; *Padmapurāṇa*, I, vi, 48, 62; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, xxiv, 18.

[11] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 29 sqq.

[12] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 472-473.

[13] Levi, *J. A.*, 1915, p. 102.

[14] These early notices of Ki-pin have been fully discussed in *J. A.*, 1895, vi, pp. 378 sqq. by Levi and Chavannes.

[15] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 72.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Pauthier, *Examen méthodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-Tchou Ou l' Inde* (Paris, 1839), p. 40.

[18] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 148 sqq.

[19] Reinaud, *Memoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 189 sqq.

[20] L 'Itinéraire d' Ou-kong, *J. A.* (1895), vi, pp. 341 sqq. For these various routes, see *infra* pp. 111-14.

[21] '*Meadows of Gold*' (tr. Sprenger), i, p. 382; Elliot, *History of India*, i, pp. 90 sq.

[22] Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), i, pp. 22, 173; ii, p. 181; also Preface by Sachau, p. XXIV.

[23] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, pp. 293-300.

[24] *India* (tr. Sachau), i, pp. 206 sqq.

[25] *Travels of Marco Polo* (tr. Yule), I, p. 166.

[26] *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (ed. De Vreese).

[27] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 90 sqq.

[28] Tawney, *Ocean of stories* (tr.), III, p. 220, V, pp. 17, 123-24.

[29] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (ed. Bühler), XVIII.

[30] *R. T.*, *I*, 25-38.

[31] *R. T.*, *I*, 38.

[32] *R. T.*, I, 15.

[33] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, pp. 300 ff.

[34] *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, III, 10-24, 68 sqq.

[35] Ed. Kāvyamālā, No. 61 (Bombay).

[36] *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr. Jarret), ii, p. 371.

[37] *R. T.*, VIII, 733, 1413, 1777.

[38] *R. T.*, I, 306, VII, 1228, VIII, 733, 1433, 2808, 3115.

[39] *R. T.*, I, 97.

[40] *R. T.*, VIII, 504, 662, 685, 1069, 1260, 1347, 1511, 2732, 2742, 3115, 3281, 3285.

[41] *R. T.*, VIII, 1413.

[42] *R. T.*, VII, 1228.

[43] *R. T.*, VIII, 1430.

[44] *R. T.*, VIII, 733.

[45] Jonarāja, 548.

[46] *R. T.*, VIII, 504, 662, 685, 1069, 1260, 1281, 1347, 1511, 2732, 2742, 3115, 3281, 3285.

[47] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), 1283, 1284.

[48] *R. T.*, I, 97.

[49] Jonarāja, 861-62, Śrīvara, iii, 194.

[50] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 17, foot notes.

[51] Jonarāja (Bombay ed.), 79, 1232.

[52] Jonar., 1310.

[53] Jonar. (Bombay ed.), 1144.

[54] See *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol II, p. 471.

[55] Jonar. (Bombay ed.), 661.

[56] Śrīvara, ii, 10, iii, 24, 430, iv, 349.

[57] *R. T.*, I. 340.

[58] Śrīvara, iii, 25.

[59] *R. T.*, VII, 911, 1360, VIII, 437, 729, 793, 1128.

[60] Jonarāja, 167 sq ; Śrīvara, v, 136.

[61] *R. T.*, VII, 159, 1022, VIII, 591, 1003, 1011, 1132, 1264, 1517, 1585, 2749, 2811, 3130.

[62] Jonar., 92, 107, 152; Śrīv., iv, 108.

[63] *R. T.*, VIII, 1438.

[64] *R. T.*, VII, 1241.

[65] *R. T.*, VI, 281.

[66] *R. T.*, VIII, 2698.

[67] Sriv., iii, 353.

[68] *R. T.*, VIII, 2697.

[69] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, p. 211, foot notes.

[70] *R. T.*, VII, 498, VIII, 3130.

[71] Jonar., 251, 616; Śrivara, iii, 386, 464.

[72] Jonar. (Bombay ed.), 286, 846.

[73] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), 928, 1159, 1337.

[74] Jonar. (Bombay ed.), 1449-56.

[75] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, . pp. 2, 3. Wilson's view that Kaspatyros or Kaspapyros was based upon Kāśyapapura, on which

Lassen and others built their theory is evidently wrong. See *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, pp. 252, 254.

[76] *Ibid*, p. 199.

[77] *R. T.*, I, 104.

[78] *R. T.*, I, 124.

[79] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, p. 289-290.

[80] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 158.

[81] *R. T.*, I, 168.

[82] *R. T.*, VI, 186.

[83] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 68.

[84] *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 207.

[85] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 140.

[86] *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 30, foot notes.

[87] *R. T.*, I, 176.

[88] *R. T.*, I, 201-202.

[89] *R. T.*, I, 274.

[90] *R. T.*, I, 261, 270, VIII, 991.

[91] *R. T.*, II, 62.

[92] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p 69.

[93] *R. T.*, III, 355.

[94] *R. T.*, III, 358, sqq.

[95] *Samayamātṛkā*, I, 4; *Vikram.*, XVIII, 1, 70; *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, III, 21.

[96] For the identity of the buildings and sites, see *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, pp. 100-102, foot notes.

[97] *R. T.*, III, 357 sqq.

[98] *Vikram.*, XVIII, 15, 16.

[99] *Vikram.*, XVIII, 18.

[100] *R. T.*, VIII, 820.

[101] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (Calcutta, 1924), p. 116.

[102] For the position of the ruins and their identification with Lalitāditya's establishments, see *R. T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. II, pp. 301, 302.

[103] *R. T.*, V, 98, 99.

[104] *R. T.*, IV, 395.

[105] *R. T.*, V, 161.

[106] *R. T.*, VII, 1335.

[107] *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarret's tr.), ii, p. 364.

[108] *R. T.*, IV, 507-508.

[109] *Ibid.*, IV, 506, 510.

[110] *Report*, p. 13 sqq.

[111] Śrīv., i, 246, 250, 257, iv, 540, 545.

[112] *R. T.*, IV, 695.

[113] *R. T.*, IV, 695, V, 330, VII, 767, 1362, 1365, VIII, 1387, 1413, 1418, 1422, 2807; Jonarāja, 549; Śrīv., iv, 132, 344.

[114] *R. T.*, V, 44.

[115] For the correct identification of the temples and their description see *Ann. Rep. A. S.*, I., 1913-14, pp. 40-62.

[116] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 76.

[117] *R. T.*, VII, 1366, VIII, 970, 1144, 1474, 1502.

[118] Jonar., 321, 330, 335, 863; Śrīv., i, 338, iii, 42.

[119] *R. T.*, V, 39

[120] *R. T.*, V, 39, VII, 1520, VIII, 1051, 1134, 1266, 1577.

[121] *R. T.*, V. 118.

[122] *R. T.*, V, 156.

[123] *R.T.*, V, 213.

[124] *R. T.*, V, 158.

[125] Cunningham, *J. A. S. B.*, 1848, part I, pp. 282 sqq.

[126] *R. T.*, V, 162.

[127] *R. T.*, VI, 299, 301.

[128] *Infra* p. 32.

[129] *Ibid.*

[130] *Infra* p. 33.

[131] *Ibid.*

[132] *R. T.*, V, 151.

[133] *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 245-248.

[134] *R. T.*, I, 312.

[135] *R. T.*, III, 10.

[136] *R. T.*, I, 101-107.

[137] K. C. Pande, *Abhinavagupta: an historical and philosophical study; Vikram.* XVIII, 73-79; Intr. *Kādambarī-kathāsāra.*

[138] De Terra and Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, pp. 233-34.

[139] In Sanskrit, the valley is called Kāśmīra which is derived from the word Kaśmirika. But in the Kāśmīrian language this name is not used. The people of Kāśmīra call the country by the name of Kashir and the language Koshir. This word itself is an example of the Dardic origin of the Kāśmīrian language, for in Indo-Aryan language the change of sm to s or ś would not have occurred.

[140] Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, VIII, ii, pp. 1-3.

[141] Grierson, *The Piśāca Languages of North-western India* (London, 1906).

[142] *R. T.*, V, 101.

[143] Ed. De Vreese (Leiden, 1936).

[144] Haddon, *The Races of man*, p. 86.

[145] B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the population*, pp. 23-26.

[146] L. A. Iyer, *Travancore tribes and castes*, p. xiv.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The first anchorage in the political history of Kāśmīra is furnished by the rule of Aśoka. It is difficult to trace the events that had taken place earlier. But it is most unlikely that Kāśmīra did remain completely unaffected by the mighty political movements that shook the north-western frontiers of India in the pre-Aśokan period.

The Persian invasion of India took place in the sixth century B.C. From the accounts of the Greek historians, the Persian king Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisus and the Kabul valley, especially the Gandarians.[1] In the Behistun inscription of Darius, Gadāra, i.e., Gandhāra is mentioned as one of the provinces of his empire. Generally speaking, Gandhāra denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. But sometimes it also includes Kāśmīra and we have already noted that Hecataeus of Miletus who was a contemporary of Cyrus and Darius refers to Kaspapyros, i.e., Kashmir as a Gandaric city. It is, therefore, not unlikley that Kāśmīra might have come under the sway of the Achaemenids.

During the time of Alexander's campaign, Kāśmīra seems to have been under the rule of the king of Abhisāra. He at first helped the chief of Assakenos against Alexander by sending military help but afterwards offered submission to the latter. It is said that when Alexander, at the close of his campaign was returning from India, he left the king of Abhisāra to rule over Kāśmīra with the State of Arsaces (Uraśā=Hazāra) added to his kingdom.[2]

About the pre-Aśokan days of his land, Kalhaṇa[3] is not silent, but little reliance can be placed upon him for the history of that period. He says that in the earliest time there ruled in Kāśmīra fifty-two rulers. Their names were not recorded by later chroniclers, but four of them had the fortune of being mentioned in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*. They were Gonanda I, his son Dāmodara I, Dāmodara's wife Yaśovatī and Yaśovatī's son Gonanda II. Kalhaṇa connects these kings with some of the legends of the *Mahābhārata* which can be easily dismissed as a myth. Gonanda II was followed by thirty-five kings whose names perished through the destruction of records. They were followed by eight kings named respectively as Lava, Kuśa, Khagendra, Surendra, Godhara, Suvarṇa, Janaka and Śacīnara. The first four belonged to one dynasty and the last four to the other. It is said that some of these princes granted *agrahāras* to the Brāhmaṇas, a few of them built towns and one of them excavated a canal. Nothing is known about the historicity of any of them.

The king next mentioned is Aśoka, son of Śacīnara's grand-uncle and great grandson of Śakuni. He embraced the doctrine of Jina, set up *vihāras* and *stūpas* at Vitastātra and Śuṣkaletra, and erected a town named Śrīnagarī. A Śaiva temple of Vijayeśvara was repaired and two new ones called Aśokeśvara were built by him. Though Kalhaṇa represents Aśoka as a local ruler, yet his description of the king as a follower of Jina, i.e., Buddha and builder of numerous *stūpas* mark him out as the Maurya emperor of the namesake. The fact receives corroboration from Hiuen Tsang[4] who saw Aśokan *stūpas* in the valley and from the *Mahāvaṁsa*[5] which speaks of Aśoka's missionary activity in the region.

According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Aśoka was followed by his son Jalauka and the latter by a king named Dāmodara II after which the valley passed into the hands of Turuṣka rulers called Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka. Jalauka is described as a good warrior who freed the valley from the *mleccha* occupation and effected extensive conquests, including Kānyakubja. He is also said to be an able administrator. A follower of Śiva, he at first was against Buddhism but afterwards adopted a friendly attitude towards it. The statements of Kalhaṇa regarding Aśoka's son can not be checked from any other source.

After the fall of the Maurya empire, north-west India was subject to several foreign invasions and the valley of Kāśmīra could not possibly keep herself immune from these convulsions. Tarn[6] suggests that for a few years Demetrius was the lord of a realm which included southern Kāśmīra. A fragment in Ptolemy (VII, 42) gives the names of two provinces in Menander's home kingdom east of the Jhelum of which Kaspeiria, the upper valleys of the Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi, would correspond to southern Kāśmīra. In the *Milindapañha* it is stated that the discussion between Nāgasena and Milinda was held at a place which was only 12 *yojanas* from Kāśmīra.[7] Cunningham records a large find of silver coins of Azes and Azilises 'on the bank of the Jhelum river, in the hills between Bārāmūla and Jhelum'.[8]

Kalhaṇa's account of Turuṣka rulers indicates without doubt the Kuṣāṇa occupation of the valley. Of the three kings mentioned by him, Huṣka may be identified with Huviṣka, Juṣka with Vāṣiṣka, and Kaniṣka with Kaniṣka I or II, more accurately with the former. Each of them is credited with the foundation of a town. These, christened after their names were called Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura and Kaniṣkapura. The towns still exist. Besides, the princes are said to have built many *maṭhas*, *caityas* and other similar structures almost all of which seem to have perished. According to the Chronicler the valley of Kāṣmīra was under the influence of the Buddhists during the Turuṣka rule. This is what we also learn from Hiuen Tsang. The poet-historian assigns the celebrated Buddhist preacher Nāgārjuna to this period.

The next historical personage of Kalhaṇa's narrative is Mihirakula, who is none other than the celebrated Hūṇa ruler. Between the period of the Turuṣkas and that of the Hūṇa ruler, Kalhaṇa has fixed certain rulers. Of these, Abhimanyu is credited with the foundation of a town called Abhimanyupura. Under his orders the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali was brought into the valley. During his reign, Buddhism rose to a prominence and this infuriated the Nāgas, who sent successive snowfall to kill the Buddhists. At the end, the traditional religion of the land as prescribed in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* was established. Next king Gonanda III further promoted the cause of the traditional religion. He was followed by four kings, Vibhīṣaṇa I, Indrajit, Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa II, names which remind one of the demon warriors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* The last one was succeeded by his son Nara who built a town after his name. Then came five kings, Siddha, Utpalākṣa, Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyakula and Vasukula who ruled in succession.

It is not the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* but the coins, attributed to the kings of Kāśmīra who ruled from the sixth century onwards, that hint in a curious way about events that might have taken place after the end of the Imperial Kuṣāṇa rule. The Toramāṇa copper coins which were current in the valley presumably from that period onwards, and the electrum and copper coins of the Karkoṭa rulers (7th to 9th century) have as their type a king standing and a seated goddess, a type adopted by the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa rulers in their gold issues. Particularly, the Karkoṭa coin type of headless king and seated goddess is nothing but a degenerated Kidāra type. Besides, both the Toramāṇa issues and the issues of the Karkoṭa have either in their obverse or in

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the reverse the letters *Kidāra* or *Kidā* or simply *Ki*, thus copying the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa legend. All that it may indicate is that before the sixth century, the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa coins were in circulation in the valley of Kāśmīra and served as a model of the succeeding issues. The exact time period of the Kidāra-Kuṣāṇa occupation can not be ascertained, but a date in the latter half of the fifth century is not unlikely.

According to the Chronicle of Kalhaṇa Vasukula was succeeded by his son Mihirakula. He was a cruel and ruthless warrior. He used to massacre thousands of human beings without any compassion for children, women or the aged. Mihirakula inflicted a crushing defeat upon the king of Ceylon[9] and performed many supernatural deeds. He built the shrine of Śiva in his capital, founded a town in his own name and donated *agrahāras* to Gandhāra Brāhmaṇas. The king ended his life by throwing himself into fire.

Hiuen Tsang[10] refers to Mihirakula's rule over the secluded vale. The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman[11] tends to show that his capital was in the Himalayan region or at least not much removed from it. Under the circumstances, Mihirakula's sway over Kāśmīra may be taken to be a settled fact. Kalhaṇa's statement regarding the king is not without exaggeration. But his description of the king as rapacious and bloodthirsty receives corroboration from Hiuen Tsang's account and popular traditions. The king's devotedness to Śiva also appears to be real[12].

What happened in Kāśmīra on Mihirakula's death is difficult to collect or even to conjecture. The poet-historian continues his narrative but in the absence of any corroborative evidence his authenticity may very well be doubted particularly when his account seems mainly compounded of myths and legends. Whatever traces of history may be lying hidden in the tale presented by Kalhaṇa, can not be easily distilled out of the hotch-potch. So for another hundred years, the history of Kāśmīra remains shrouded in mystery, till the advent of Durlabhavardhana, when once again we step in to the sober ground of history.

According to Kalhaṇa, Mihirkula was succeeded by his son Baka. He founded a town, grooved a canal and built a temple of Śiva. He was followed by four kings, Kṣitinanda, Vasunanda, Nara II and Akṣa. Vasunanda wrote a book on erotics and Akṣa founded a village. King Gopāditya, who came next, founded many *agrahāras* and consecrated a shrine of Jyeṣtheśvara on the mountain Gopādri. His son built a temple of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara after his own name. His successor king Narendrāditya had a second name Khiṅkhila. He consecrated shrines to Śiva Bhūteśvara and his precepter Ugra to Śiva Ugreśa. He also established an endowment for the feeding of Brāhmaṇas. Narendrāditya's son Yudhiṣṭhira, also called blind Yudihṣṭhira was an oppressive ruler. He was driven out by his ministers and subjects. The vacant throne was filled up by a person called Pratāpāditya I, a relative of king Vikramāditya who came from abroad. The valley, from the time of Pratāpāditya onwards, suffered from internal dissensions and consequently became subject to Harṣa[13] and other foreigners. After Pratāpāditya, his son Jalaukas ruled over the land. King Tuñjīna who followed Jalaukas was a contemporary of poet Candaka. During his reign, a serious famine visited the valley. Tuñjīna's successor Vijaya built the shrine of Vijayeśvara. He was followed by his son Jayendra and the latter by his minister Saṁdhimati. Saṁdhimati Āryarājā was a pious ruler. He built shrines of Śiva, and founded *liṅgas*, *triśūlas* and bulls of Śiva. But his pacifism was disliked by the people, who compelled him to retire and brought in his place Meghavāhana. A descendant of the formerly banished and blind king Yudhiṣṭhira, Meghavāhana was living at the time at Gandhāra. Meghavāhana was a vigorous and pious ruler who carried on some conquests, and prohibited the slaughter of living creatures within his realm and founded a village, an *agrahāra* and a temple. His wife Amṛtaprabhā also shared her husband's pious emotions and built a *vihāra* in her name for the benefit of foreign *bhiksus* while her father's preceptor *Stunpā* (who came from a foreign country called Loh) established the *stūpa* of Lo Stonpā.

Meghavāhana was succeeded by his son Śreṣthasena, also known by two other names of Pravarasena and Tuñjīna. He built various holy shrines at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna. After Śreṣthasena, his eldest son Hiraṇya ascended the throne while the youngest, Toramāṇa, became crown prince. Once Toramāṇa coined money in his own name. This incited the wrath of Hiraṇya who put the latter into prison where Toramāṇa died in captivity. In the meantime Hiraṇya died without heir and the throne of Kāśmīra which fell vacant was filled up by a poet named Mātṛgupta, a nominee of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain. This poet-king was a patron of literature and Vaiṣṇava in faith. He extended his patronage to Bhartṛmeṇtha and built a shrine of Viṣṇu Mātṛguptasvāmin.

Mātṛgupta however, could not reign long. The death of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī weakened his position. Pravarasena II, son of Toramāṇa, who had been brought up in a farmer's house and spent his early life abroad, entered Kāśmīra and seized the throne after forcing Mātṛgupta to abdicate and to take refuge in the sacred *tīrtha* of Vārāṇasī.

Pravarasena proved his martial qualities by invading Surāṣtra[14] and defeating the king Mummuni.[15] He reinstated Śilāditya-Pratāpaśīla, the son of Vikramāditya, on his paternal throne from which he had been deposed by his enemies. At home, a great achievement of his was the foundation of the city of Pravarapura.

Pravarasena was succeeded by his son Yudhiṣṭhira II and the latter by his son Lakhaṇa Narendrāditya. The king Raṇāditya who came next, ruled for an unusually long period of three hundred years as the legend goes. He built some shrines in honour of Śiva. His son king Vikramāditya built stone temples and monasteries. Then came Bālāditya, who had a daughter named Anaṅgalekhā. Durlabhavardhana, a small official in the king's court married the princess and on Bālāditya's death, occupied the throne.

The account of Kalhaṇa, as given above, can not be taken to be a reliable one in many respects. The ancedotes of Raṇāditya, who is said to have ruled for three hundred years (apparently an improbable length of time) or of Tuñjīna I whose queen is said to have fed the subjects in times of famines by sending them numberless dead pigeons through her supernatural powers and similar other versions, can best be regarded as legendary tales. A great part of his story can not be confirmed for lack of corroborative evidence and hardly deserves any consideration. But some portions of the narrative cannot be rejected as unreal. The Amṛtaprabhāvihāra, said to have been built during the reign of Meghavāhana, seems to be referred to in the Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong's account as monastery of *Ngo-mi-to-po-wan.*[16] The word *Stunpā* in the Tibetan language means preceptor or *Guru.* Reference of the building of a *stūpa* by the preceptor of queen Amṛtaprabhā's father, who came from a foreign territory called Loh, indicates an intimate connection between Leh, i.e., Tibet and Kāśmīra in an early period.

The striking of copper coins by Toramāṇa, brother of Hiraṇya may also have some truth behind. A large number of copper coins with the legend *Toramāṇa* are found in the valley. Though these coins were current up to the end of the Hindu rule, their first circulation might date as far back as the middle of the 6th century A.D.[17] It is not unlikely that they were struck by Hiraṇya's brother. Whether or not Toramāṇa of Kalhaṇa is the same as Hūṇa Toramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula, is a debatable point. But the account recorded in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has nothing in it to prove the identity.[18]

Pravarasena II, son of Toramāṇa, is undoubtedly a historical figure. The city of Pravarapura owes its name to him. To him can also be attributed some gold and silver coins which bear unmistakable influence of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa coins.[19] Exact dates of Pravarasena can not be determined. But it is likely that he flourished in the later half of the 6th century.

Vikramāditya Harṣa of Ujjayinī is described as an earlier contemporary of Pravarasena II and his son Śilāditya Pratāpaśīla as a later one. The Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century mentions Śilāditya of Malwa who lived in *c.* 580 A.D.[20] and apparently indicates him as the successor of Vikramāditya.[21] But the alleged influence of the latter over the secluded valley goes unconfirmed.

It is very likely that Mihirakula's rule over Kāśmīra was followed by other Hūṇa rulers. Though Kalhaṇa does not specifically mention any other prince as Hūṇa, some of the names recorded by him disclose their foreign identity. Narendrāditya, who had another name Khiṅkhila might be a Hūṇa king.[22] Hiraṇyakula, Vasukula and Toramāṇa look like Hūṇa names. They might well be Hinduised Hūṇa princes. Lakhaṇa Narendrāditya is perhaps to be identified with *Rājā* Lakhaṇa Udayāditya, who struck silver coins of the Epthalite Hun type.[23]

With Durlabhavardhana, we emerge out of the dim twilight of myth and legend into the clear light of history. For, from the 7th century onwards, the course of political history of Kāśmīra, may be traced with tolerable accuracy from the account left by Kalhaṇa. Yet, upto the 10th century we are on firm, but not indubitable ground, as still history tends often to lose itself in a maze of legend and myth and exaggerated stories. But the lapses are made up to a certain degree, by the informations vouchsafed us by the Chinese historians of the Tang period. The pages of Hiuen Tsang, Ou-kong, Alberuni and Kṣemendra and the epilogue of Jonarāja, when Kalhaṇa is silent, help us a good deal to reconstruct the historical edifice of this period. The coins also tell us an almost continuous story of succession of kings of this time.

Durlabhavardhana, a man of lowly origin took service under king Bālāditya, married his daughter and after the king's death, succeeded him. He is said to have been the offspring of the Nāga Karkoṭa, a deity worshipped in some of the springs of Kāśmīra. Hence the dynasty founded came to be known as Karkoṭa. This story of descent from serpent seems to be an ingenious invention to cover the humble origin of a family that rose from the rut.

Durlabhavardhana's historicity is beyond doubt. A number of coins, with rude execution of headless king and seated goddess type with the name of the king written over them,[24] apparently belong to him. Possibly he is referred to in a notice of the Chinese Annals which say that *Tu-lo-pa*, a king of India, controlled the route from China to the Kabul valley at a point between 627 and 649 A.D.[25] It is likely that the date of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Kāśmīra fell within his reign. Durlabhavardhana appears to have ruled over a pretty large territory which included besides Kāśmīra, Takṣaśilā, east of the Indus, Uraśā or Hazāra, Siṁhapura or the salt range and the smaller hill states of Rājapurī and Parṇotsa. Probably Takṣaśilā was conquered by him.

After Durlabhavardhana's death, his son Pratāpāditya II Durlabhaka became the king of Kāśmīra. Apart from the foundation of Pratāpapura (present Tapar) he achieved little of note. Coins of characteristic Karkoṭa type with the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* have sometimes been attributed to him, but these may as well belong to his son Lalitāditya, who also is said to have assumed the title of Pratāpāditya. Findspot and other considerations, as we shall shortly see, seem to favour the latter view.

Candrāpīḍa, the eldest son, succeeded his father Pratāpāditya II. He is to be identified with *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li* mentioned in the Chinese Annals and ruling over Kāśmīra between A.D. 713 and 720.[26] The Chinese sources speak of his application to the king of China for aid against the Arabs against whom he must have carried on expeditions.[27]

Candrāpīḍa was followed by his brother Tārāpīḍa who died after a short reign.

The king to come next is Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya who was the youngest of the brothers. He is credited with extensive conquest both in India and in the Himalayan regions. He is said to have defeated Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, overrun Kaliṅga, brought under his submission Karṇāṭa princess Raṭṭa, and marched through the kingdoms of Koṅkaṇa, Dvārakā and Avanti. Possibly he fought also with the king of Gauḍa.

In the ~~Himalayan~~ region, his claim of conquest is over the Kambojas, Tukhāras, Darads, Bhauṭṭas and Mummuni. The adjoining territories which are said to have come under his sway include Jālaṁdhara and Lohara. The Śāhi princes, according to Kalhaṇa, held court offices under him. The king is further alleged to have carried his arms to Strīrājya, kingdom of Uttarakurus, Prāgjyotiṣa and the ocean of sands.

The account of Lalitāditya's expedition is exaggerated, but not altogether baseless. In the north Indian plains he defeated Yaśovarman, the mighty ruler of Kanauj. This is clear from Kalhaṇa's very vivid, very detailed description of the conflict. Kalhaṇa says that the master of Kānyakubja at first made peaceful submission to the Kāśmīrian king, but afterwards incurred the latter's displeasure by the guileful tactics adopted by him in the course of the treaty negotiations. As a result he was wholly uprooted (*samūlaṁ udapāṭayat*). There is numismatic evidence too to indicate Kāśmīrian occupation of Madhyadeśa in or about the eighth century. A large number of electrum and copper coins of the charactristic Karkoṭa type with the legend Śrī-Pratāpa, have been discovered in several sites of U.P. and Bihar.[28] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there is a passage which states that Lalitāditya, after his victory over the king of Kanauj, assumed the title of Pratāpāditya.[29] This has led to the attribution of these coins to him. Perhaps they were circulated in the conquered territories as token of victory or were used for payment to the soldiers.

Other claims of conquests in the plains of India can not be proved. It is extremely doubtful whether the Kāśmīrian army did ever reach the distant lands of Deccan or the Kathiawar peninsula or marched through Kaliṅga or Avanti. There is no positive evidence to indicate the Kāśmīrian king's conflict with Gauḍa. But a story recorded in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* states that on the promise of personal safety, Lalitāditya invited the Gauḍa king to Kāśmīra and then treacherously killed him. The attendants of Gauḍa king, in revenge wanted to destroy the image of Parihāsa-Keśava, the beloved deity of the Kāśmīrian king, but by mistake broke the Rāmasvāmī instead. The Gauḍas perished in the midst of the counter attack of the soldiers of Kāśmīra. 'But', says Kalhaṇa, 'even the creators can not achieve what the Gauḍas did on that occasion......The whole world is filled with the fame of the Gauḍa heroes'. Some historians have rejected the story, but we may presume that where there is so much smoke there was once a flame.

Lalitāditya's claims of conquest in the Himalayan region appear to be more tangible. The country of the Kambojas probably lay in the eastern part of Afghanistan. The Tukhāras were settled in the Tokharistān of early Muslim writers, comprising Badakshān and the immediately adjoining tracts on the upper Oxus. In the eighth century A.D., the region was populated by tribes of the Turkish race. Lalitāditya's victory in the locality receives corroboration from a tradition recorded in Alberuni's account. The tradition speaks of Kāśmīrian king Muttai's (i.e., Muktāpīḍa) triumph over the Turks.[30] Lalitāditya is said to have brought from the country of the Tukhāras, Caṅkuṇa, whom he made his minister. Kalhaṇa attributes to Caṅkuṇa, besides a *stūpa*, the foundation of two *vihāras*. One of these was visited by Ou-kong.[31] Excavations have unearthed a lofty *stūpa* at Parihāsapura which may be taken to be one of them. A ruined *caitya* from the same site yields some epigraphs which read as Camaṇa and Caṁku.[32] They probably refer to the minister. The Darad tribe dwelt to the immediate north of Kāśmīra, in the region extending from Citral and Yasin, across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Cilas and Buñji to the Kiṣaṇgaṅgā valley. The Bhauṭṭas were Tibetans. They occupied the regions immediately to the east and north east of Kāśmīra, i.e., the modern mountain districts of Dras, Ladakh and Skardo. Lalitāditya's claim of victory over the Tibetans receives confirmation from Tang annals.[33] The meaning of the word Mummuni is not clear. It may be a title adopted by the chief of some family or tribe living in the adjoining region of Kāśmīra.[34] The kingdom of Jālaṁdhara, if Hiuen Tsang is to be believed, included, in addition to the Jālaṁdhara district of Punjab, the hill territories on the upper course of the Beas, particularly Kangra.[35] Lohara corresponds to present Punch. These territories, situated as they were just on the southern and south-eastern border of Kāśmīra, had naturally to feel the weight of the newly arisen power. A hold over these territories was probably necessary for the Kāśmīrian king for an easy passage to the Madhyadeśa. The Śāhis who served the Court of Kāśmīra were probably the Śāhi princes of the Gilgit region, who from the Hatun inscription appear to have held sway over the region sometime after the sixth century.[36] The story of Lalitāditya's conquest of other Himalayan territories, which follows next, lacks authenticity. Strīrājya and Uttarakuru are semi-mythical lands ; the ocean of sand has been suggested to indicate the deserts of Central Asia, but it can not be definitely proved that Lalitāditya carried his arms so far. The claim over Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam, like that over Kaliṅga and Karṇāta, is unfounded.

Lalitāditya's reign was mostly spent on conquest, but foreign expeditions could not wholly detract the king's attention from home. He lent a strong impulse to architecture. Kalhaṇa attributes to him the foundation of several towns and erection of a large number of buildings. Most of the sites and structures are now wholly in ruins and beyond identification. But such among them as may be identified to some extent amply testify to the excellence of Lalitāditya as a builder. The remains of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa, which the king had built near the *tīrtha* of the same name, are still the finest specimens of early architecture of the valley. The extensive ruins of Parihāsapura also speak of his activities in the field of architecture. Some of the *stūpas*, *vihāras* and *caityas* built in his reign have been unearthed and justify by their remains the high fame which the monarch had enjoyed as a builder.

Lalitāditya appears to have been fully conscious of the dangers that might arise from the insubordination of powerful classes of the society. Ḍāmaras, the landed oilgarchy, appear to have grown into a powerful body and came to be a troublesome element in the State. Lalitāditya did not survive to crush them but he exhorted his successors not to allow the villagers to have 'more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields'. For 'if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king'. Doubtless this piece of sound advice bespeaks Lalitāditya's statesmanship and political sagacity.

Lalitāditya's rule was followed by a succession of brief inactive reigns. His son Kuvalayāpīḍa left the throne after a year in the pursuit of spiritual perfection. Another son of his, Vajrāditya, who succeeded, earned notoriety by his cruel acts and sensual habits. Two other kings Pṛthivyāpīḍa and Saṁgrāmapīḍa died after brief reigns.

During the rule of these weak rulers, Kāśmīra seems to have suffered defeat at the hands of the Arabs. Baladhuri says that in the reign of the Abbasid Caliph-al-Mansur, his governor of Sind, Hisham ibn ' Amr-al-Taghlibi conquered Kāśmīra obtaining many prisoners and slaves.[37] By Kāśmīra, Baladhuri probably meant that part of Punjab, north of Multan which was under the possession of the Karkoṭas at this time. The date of Amr-al-Taghlibi falls between *c.* 768-72 A.D. This period, according to the Karkoṭa chronology accepted in this work, corresponds to the reigns of the weak successors of Lalitāditya.

Next to come was Jayāpīḍa, grandson of Lalitāditya. He is said to have repeated some of the achievements of the latter by carrying his arms in the plains of India and defeating the five Gauḍas and the king of Kanauj. The claims can not be corroborated, though in the then anarchical condition of northern India, an expedition from Kāśmīra was nothing much unlikely. Some sites in the Madhyadeśa have yielded (Banda dist. U.P. and Rajghat, Banaras) along with the *Śrī-Pratāpa* coins of Lalitāditya, coins of a similar type but with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*. Some scholars are of opinion that *ja* here indicates Jayāpīḍa who struck this additional word on the prevailing coin type of his grand-father, after he had defeated the king of Kanauj or that he accompanied Lalitāditya in his expedition and as a viceroy of his grand-father's conquered provinces, struck the initial of his name on the latter's prevailing coin-type.[38] In the home province, Jayāpīḍa coined electrum and copper coins of the usual Karkoṭa type with the legend *Vinayāditya* on them, which we learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, was his second name. It may be noted that none of these coins have been found in the north Indian plains.

When Jayāpīḍa was away from Kāśmīra, his brother-in-law Jajja is said to have usurped the throne. Returning from his successful expeditions, Jayāpīḍa met Jajja near Śuṣkaletra, in the Kāśmīra valley. A fierce battle ensued in which the latter was ousted and slain, after ruling the valley for three years.

Subsequently, Jayāpīḍa is again said to have set out for conquest. In this expedition he encountered Bhīmasena, king of eastern India and Aramudi, king of Nepal. None of these kings are otherwise known and the account looks more like legend than fact. His conquest of Strīrājya also belongs to the horizon of legend. Of a more sober nature and genuine character is Kalhaṇa's list of various scholars and poets like Kṣīra, Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa, Dāmodaragupta etc. who flourished in Jayāpīḍa's court. His foundation of Jayapura, as the new capital in the marshy ground near Volur is an authentic fact. It is marked by the present Andarkoṭh.

During the close of his reign, Jayāpīḍa is stated to have fallen a prey to avarice and to have oppressed his subjects by fiscal exactions. A detailed account of the exactive measures adopted by him will be found in the chapter dealing with administration.

The history of the Karkoṭa dynasty after Jayāpīḍa is a sad story of decline. Lalitāpīḍa, son and successor of Jayāpīḍa, was an indolent and profligate prince who squandered the wealth of the State in worthless pursuits. His half brother Saṁgrāmapīḍa II or Pṛthivyāpīḍa achieved nothing of note during his seven years reign. Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, who followed him, was the son of Lalitāpida by Jayādevī, a concubine of low origin. He was a minor at the time of his accession. The situation was fully exploited by his maternal uncles Padma, Utpala, Kalyāṇa, Mamma and Dharma who exercised the royal power de-facto. After a nominal rule of twelve years, Cippaṭa was killed by his uncles. His follower Ajitāpīḍa was a puppet at the hands of Utpala. His reign was marked by the discord and mutual jealousy of Padma and his brothers. The hostility between the regents ultimately led to a fierce battle between Mamma and Utpala, which concluded in the latter's defeat and in the overthrow of Ajitāpida. Mamma and his victorious party next raised to the throne, Anaṅgāpīḍa, son of Saṁgrāmapīḍa II. A few years later, Utpala's son Sukhavarman raised a successful rebellion and crowned his own nominee Utpalāpīḍa, a son of Ajitāpīḍa. Sometime after, while Sukhavarman was on the point of assuming the royal dignity himself, he was killed by a relative. The throne was ultimately secured for his family when the powerful minister Śūra deposed the reigning monarch and placed Avantivarman, son of Sukha on the throne.

Both politically and economically Kāśmīra suffered great loss during the regime of Jayāpīḍa's successors. Not only were the distant territories conquered by the prowess of Lalitāditya lost, but there are reasons to believe that even the adjoining hilly tracts took full advantage of the weakness of the later Karkoṭas and threw off the Kāśmīrian yoke. The expeditions of Saṁkaravarman, son of Avantivarman, were directed against Dārvābhisāra, the hill tract which stretches from the Pīr Pantsāl range to the plains of Punjab and Ṭakkadeśa, the region between the upper waters of the Chenab and the Ravi. In the north-west, his territory extended up to Virānaka, near Bārāmūla. It is thus clear that during the feeble rule of the later Karkoṭas, Kāśmīra had lost most of her conquered provinces and her suzerainty had come to be confined to the Vitastā basin, east of Bārāmūla. The economic ruin was hastened by the extravagant habits of some of the monarchs as well as by their weakness which gave the ministers and the officers of the State a freehand in plunder.

Accroding to Kalhaṇa the riches of Jayāpīḍa was partly squandered by his son Lalitāpīḍa, but subsequently plundered in toto by Padma and his brothers. 'They carried off the revenue of the country, feasted in mutual jealousy on the masterless kingdom, like wolves on a dead buffalo in the desert'. The valley was overtaken by disastrous floods, resulting in famines when one *khāri* of rice used to fetch as high a price as 1050 *dīnnāras*. The anarchical and uncertain conditions of the State had a natural effect of depression on contemporary trade and commerce. Absence of coins of the successors of Jayāpīḍa is indicative of the poor financial condition of the period.

In spite of the weak and feeble rule of the later Karkoṭas when 'the country had through the action of time become reduced in population and wealth', the Karkoṭa reign as a whole must be considered as one of most glorious and remarkable periods of Kāśmīra history. Under the leadership of the early Karkoṭas, Kāśmīra rose to be a formidable power and carried on a policy of aggrandisement in all directions. The extravagant claims of conquest made by Kalhaṇa are not borne out by facts. But at the same time, the incorporation of adjoining regions, conquests of a number of Himalayan tracts and acquisition of a considerable part of north Indian territory are some of the achievements that can not be disputed. Never before the Karkoṭa period, had Kāśmīra performed such a feat, nor was she able to repeat it in future. But what led to this sudden eminence? Our sources for the period do not speak of any social or economic revolution going before this spectacular rise. If there was no change in the existing socio-economic system, what else could have led Kāśmīra to undertake daring expeditions in the Himalayas and in the north Indian plains? Wherefrom could she obtain the requisite money and other necessaries to man a huge army and carry on prolonged wars? The answer is probably to be sought, not in Kāśmīra itself, but elsewhere. Kāśmīra could never conduct the expensive wars on her scanty resources. It was China who supplied the necessary men and money, it was she who dictated the foreign policy of Karkoṭa Kāśmīra.

It has been seen that according to the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty, sometime between the years A.D. 627-649, Durlabhavardhana was controlling the route from China to Kipin, i.e., the Kabul valley. Whether the Karkoṭa king was guarding the route in his independent capacity or as a vassal of the Son of Heaven, is not clear from the context. But the latter possibility can not be altogether ruled out, particularly when we learn that during the Tang period it was the Chinese who controlled routes from China to Central Asia, through the Turkish and the Turfan countries.[9]

Tchen-to-lo-pi-li, king of Kāśmīra, mentioned in the Tang annals, is undoubtedly the Chinese counterpart of Candrāpīḍa. It has been already noted that he sought aid from the Chinese emperor against the Arabs in 713 A. D. Then again about A.D. 720, *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li* was at his request granted the title of 'King' on the imperial rolls.[39] This conferring of kingly dignity by the Chinese emperor conclusively proves the king of Kāśmīra's subordinate position.

There was no change in Sino-Kāśmīrian relation after Candrāpīḍa's death. His brother Lalitāditya adopted the same policy of allegiance to the Chinese Emperor.

In the second quarter of the eighth century, the growing power of the Tibetans had assumed a threat to China. There are reasons to believe that Lalitāditya carried on prolonged wars with the Tibetans to release the pressure on China. His ambassador requested military help from the Chinese emperor and in support of his demand reported that in alliance with the king of Central India the king of Kāśmīra had blocked the five routes of Tibet. He also claimed for his master's repeated victory over the Tibetans, 'the dreaded enemies of China'.[40]

We have seen that in Candrāpīḍa's reign, China supplied military aid to Kāśmīra. In Lalitāditya's time Kāśmīra depended on Chinese help to fight the Tibetans. What could have led China to help Kāśmīra? She could scarcely have any interest in Kāśmīra's policy of aggrandisement, if she herself did not gain anything from it. But as it was, the expansion of Karkoṭa Kāśmīra was not merely the expansion of an Indian kingdom, it seems to have been in reality, the extension of the supremacy of China in the Himalayan regions. According to Chinese testimony, in hundred years, roughly extending from 650-750, a quadrangular fight was being fought between the Turks, the Turfans, the Arabs and the Chinese, for the possession of Central Asia.[41] It is apparent that Kāśmīra as a subordinate ally assisted China in her enterprises in that region. Candrāpīḍa fought with the Arabs, because Chinese interests demanded it; since China came in conflict with Tibet, the king of Kāśmīra had to block all the routes of the hill kingdom. Lalitāditya's expeditions against the Tukhāras and the Darads probably had the same objective in view, namely, to assist in the establishment of Tang supremacy in those regions.

It is true that Karkoṭa Kāśmīra also adopted a policy of aggrandisement southwards, i.e., in the north Indian plains. But that was a corollary of her main policy, the conquest of the Himalayan powers. So long as the Tang dynasty was in power, Kāśmīra evinced great strength. But with the decline of the Tangs, came a change in the foreign policy of China. Domestic troubles compelled her to discontinue a policy of aggression. When the Chinese help ceased, Kāśmīra is no longer seen to carry on a policy of expansion. She retired from the scene, never to appear again.

The chronology of the Karkoṭas has been a subject of much controversy. From the time of Avantivarman, Kalhaṇa reckons the reign of every sovereign in terms of *Laukika* era. The *Laukika* era corresponds to 3076-75 B.C. and all the statements in the *Laukika* era can be worked out with reference to their Christian equivalent. But the case is otherwise in relation to the Karkoṭas. Except for the reign of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, a later Karkoṭa prince, whose death is said to have taken place in the *Laukika* era of 3889, the reigns of other monarchs are calculated in terms of period only and never referred to any era. Calculating backwards from Avantivarman, we of course reach to some dates for the rulers of the Karkoṭa dynasty. The total length of reigns of all these rulers come to two hundred and fifty-four years six months which, if calculated backwards from 855-56 A.D. the date of Avantivarman's assumption of sovereignty, would give A.D. 600 as Durlabhavardhana's date of accession. The chronology of the Karkoṭas thus would be:

Durlabhavardhana, 600-636, Pratāpāditya II, 636-686, Candrāpīḍa, 686-694, Tārāpīḍa, 694-699, Muktāpīḍa, 699-736, Kuvalayāpīḍa, 736-737, Vajrādītya Bappiyaka, 737-744, Pṛthivyāpīḍa, 744-748, Saṁgrāmapīḍa, 748, Jajja, 748-751, Jayāpīḍa, 751-782, Lalitāpīḍa, 782-794, Saṁgrāmapīḍa, II, 794-801, Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, 801-813, Ajitāpīḍa, 813-850, Anaṅgāpīḍa, 850-853, Utpalāpīḍa 853-855.

It is interesting to note that these dates receive indirect corroboration from another late Kāśmīrian work, *Ratnākara Purāṇa* which was discovered in Jainu-l-abidin's reign and whose Persian translation was prepared by Mullah Ahmad under royal orders.[42] According to this authority Raṇāditya, the legendary king of the *Rājataraṅginī* ruled from 414 to 474 A.D. and his immediate successor Vinayāditya from 474 to 521 A.D. After him, two more kings Vikramāditya and Bālāditya ruled for 42 years and 37 years and 4 months respectively, as we learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. So, Vikramāditya dates from 521 to 536 and Bālāditya from 563 to 600 A.D. The date of Durlabhavardhana's accession thus comes to 600 A.D., a result obtained also from the backward calculation of the reigning periods of the Karkoṭa kings, from Avantivarman downwards.

This chronology of the Karkoṭas could perhaps be accepted at least for all working purposes, had it not been seriously contradicted by a contemporary authority, the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty. It has been already noted that *Tchen-to-lo-pi-li*, i.e. Candrāpīḍa, king of Kāśmīra, according to the evidence furnished by the Tang historians, applied to the Chinese emperor in A.D. 713 for aid against the Arabs and that in A.D 720 the Son of Heaven conferred upon him the title of the king. Candrāpīḍa must have been living as late as the previous year A.D. 719, which makes the error in the Kāśmīrian chronology to at least twenty five years. Then again according to the Chinese testimony Lalitāditya sent an embassy to China requesting for an alliance against the Tibetans during the reign of Hiuen Tsang, A.D. 713-755 and after the first Chinese expedition against *Po-liu* (Baltistan), which fell between the years 736-747. This places Lalitāditya apparently to a period ranging from 736 A.D. onwards, but according to the reckoning of the Indian sources that year marks the end of his reign.

Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of the Chinese sources.[43] But 'the Chinese have been more precise in their system of chronology' and certainly their evidence deserves acceptance in preference to Indian sources of later dates and unknown authorship. A general addition of 25 years with Kalhaṇa's dates however would drag the Karkoṭas down to 880 A.D. when we learn for certain that Avantivarman was reigning. The only way to explain the problem is to assume that Kalhaṇa assigned longer periods to some of the Karkoṭa princes than what they had actually seen and thus added a total surplus of atleast twenty five years to the whole. The actual reigning period of each of the Karkoṭa kings is thus indeterminable and the problem of Karkoṭa chronology remains unsolved.

Avantivarman's accession took place in 855-56 A.D. and he reigned up to 883. The kingdom of Kāśmīra as already noted, had come to be confined to the Vitastā basin during the rule of the later Karkoṭas and there is nothing to show that

Avantivarman tried to recover those lost territories. None the less, he fought throughout his reign not against any foreign legion, but within his kingdom against want and anarchy and recovered Kāśmīra from utter disorder and impending economic ruin.

The triumph of the Utpalites finally put an end to the ministerial rivalries for the throne. But the anarchical conditions of the later Karkoṭa period fostered the growth of other unruly elements. The most remarkable of these was the rise of the powerful Ḍāmaras. It seems, they had been amassing fortunes by confiscating the villages endowed to temple establishments and similar other measures and were not afraid of the royal hostility. The story recorded by Kalhaṇa of minister Śūra's suppression of Dhanva, a powerful Ḍāmara, may be taken to be an example of the measures adopted in general by the royal power to curb their troublesome forces.

The economic recovery was the next item of the programme of Avantivarman. From a remote time and particularly during the weak rule of the later Karkoṭas, floods and famines had frequently visited the valley. Avantivarman wanted to put an end to this recurring calamity and entrusted the work of fighting flood and famine to his minister Suyya. Suyya found that the recurrence of flood in the valley was due to the waters of the Vitastā which could not get with considerable swiftness through the gorge, some three miles below Bārāmūla as the compressed passage got blocked with boulders. He removed the rocks and built stonewalls to protect their further sliding. He also constructed new beds for the river. As a result of these activities thousands of acres of arable land were reclaimed and hundreds of new villages sprang up on these sites. Suyya supplemented these measures by an equally important step of improving the irrigation system, which was indispensable for the cultivation of Kāśmīra's staple food. In the words of the Chronicler, 'after examining the different classes of land, he procured a supply of river water for the villages, which thus were no longer dependent only on rainfall. After watering all village lands, he took from each village some soil, and ascertained, by (observing) the time it took to dry up, the period within which irrigation would be required for each soil, respectively. He then arranged accordingly on a permanent basis for the size and distribution of the water-course for each village, and by using for irrigation the Anūlā and other streams, embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce'.

The economic stability of the kingdom, undeniably due to Suyya's measures to a very large extent, is reflected in the contemporary buildings and new city foundations. The king founded the city of Avantipura (after his own name) and embellished it with two newly built temples, Avantīśvara and Avantisvāmī. Both of them are in ruins but even in ruins, the latter stands out as one of the most imposing monuments of ancient Kāśmīra and bespeaks its builder's resources. Śura, the minister, vied with the king in piety and in great foundations. Śūrapura, which owes its name to him was an important centre of trade and commerce throughout the ancient period. Another town, Suyyapura was founded by the irrigation minister at a place where the Vitastā, after his regulation, leaves the Volur.

Kalhaṇa names some literary contemporaries of Avantivarman. They are Ānandavardhana, the celebrated rhetorician, Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmin and Ratnākara, poets and Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, a Śaiva philosopher.

Śaṁkaravarman succeeded his father Avantivarman after the latter's death. But his was not a peaceful accession. First of all, he had to fight with Sūkhavarman, a son of Śūravarman, whom some of the ministers had tried to put on the throne and then he had to face Samaravarman and other rivals. Thanks to Ratnavardhana, the wise minister of the king, Śivaśakti and other associates, Śaṁkara ultimately came out victorious.

The recovery of lost territories and the rebuilding of a pan Kāśmīrian kingdom like that of the great Karkoṭas, was the dream of Avantivarman's son. To fulfil this dream, he carried on incessant wars all around and to quote the Chronicler 'revived by his own judgment the tradition regarding the conquest of the world, which was falling into oblivion (even) in learned works'. Śaṁkaravarman first of all conquered Dārvābhisāra, the hilly tract on the south-west, which stretches from the Pīr Pantsāl range towards the plains of Punjab. Next he advanced against Pṛthvīcandra, ruler of Trigarta, the present Kangra, who is said to have approached the king in order to offer homage, but afterwards fled in terror. As the king of Kāśmīra is seen to have left the eastern theatre immediately and to turn his arms against the Gurjara territory, it seems he did not obtain any material success in the hills east of the Ravi. Pṛthvīcandra's name does not find a place in the genealogical list of Katoch *rājās*, who had ruled Kangra from a remote period. But Candra is the last name ending of all the members of Katoch family and Kalhaṇa's Pṛthvicandra may well be a historical figure.

The Gurjara territory, whose name is preserved in the modern town-name Gujrāt, comprised the 'upper portion of the flat doab between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers south of Dārvābhisāra, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east'. Alakhāna, the king of Gurjara, is said to have saved his kingdom by ceding the Ṭakkaland to Śaṁkaravarman. The Ṭakka territory probably indicated a tract adjoining the lower hills east of the Chenab.

The following king, whose power is said to have been curbed by Śaṁkaravarman is Bhoja. His identity with Pratihāra Bhoja 'has been frequently assumed, but can not be proved'.

According to Kalhaṇa, Lalliya Śāhi, who was placed between the Darads and the Turuṣkas was a supporter of Alakhāna. It is said that he was not received into service by Śaṁkaravarman as the latter wanted to remove him from his sovereign position. Apparently, the king's expedition against Lalliya did not bear much fruit. The title Śāhi and the fact of his capital being at Udabhāṇḍapura clearly points out Lalliya to be a Śāhi king of Kabul. Probably he is to be identified with Kallar, the founder of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty of Und, mentioned in the account of Alberuni.[44]

The expensive wars of Śaṁkaravarman drained the treasury, with the result that at the end of his campaign, he was compelled to undertake all sorts of measures for raising taxes. 'Certain new imposts which the king introduced and the collection of which was assigned to special revenue officers, seem to have weighed particularly heavy on temple endowments and priestly corporations. Equally oppressive for the cultivators were the excessive demands made for forced labour. Śaṁkaravarman seems to have organized them on a systematic basis and to have employed them also as a means for fiscal extortion. Used chiefly for transport purposes (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi*), this system of 'Beggar' has remained a characteristic feature of Kāśmīrian administration up to modern days. Kalhaṇa describes with much bitterness the baneful effects of this regime which favoured only the rapacions tribe of officials (Kāyastha) and left men of learning unprovided with emoluments'.

Towards the end of his reign Śaṁkaravarman led an expedition towards the Indus, through the Bārāmūla defile to avenge the death of his *Dvārādhipa* at Vīrānaka in the Vitastā valley, below the gate of Bārāmūla. After destroying Vīrānaka, he conquered numerous territories on the banks of the Indus and received the homage of their kings, who submitted to him. On his march back through Uraśā, the present Hazāra district, there was a fight with the local people, in which the king was fatally wounded and ultimately succumbed to his injuries. The death of the king was kept secret until the troops had in safety reached the Bolyāsaka in their own territory. This definite indication of the frontier line, coupled with Kalhaṇa's silence about the king's achievements in the north and east, shows clearly that in spite of his best efforts, Śaṁkaravarman could not extend the kingdom of Kāśmīra beyond the boundaries of the valley proper.

Śaṁkaravarman's attempt to build up a pan Kāśmīrian empire like that of the Karkoṭas met with a failure; but that was not so much due to his own faults, as to the changed circumstances. The small valley of Kāśmīra, famine-stricken, overflooded by rivers and impoverished through previous misrules of the later Karkoṭas, could hardly compete with the growing power of the Śāhis of Udabhāṇḍapura or with the mighty Pratihāras of north India. The earlier Karkoṭa success was mainly due to the Chinese aid. But when Śaṁkaravarman came to the arena, he was without ally and to continue his policy of expansion single handed, he taxed the resources of his kingdom utmost, to lead her at last to an economic crisis, from which she could not recover for many years to come.

According to the contents of a drama called *Āgamaḍambara* written by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Śaṁkaravarman, the king had another name, Yaśovarman. The electrum coins of the Karkoṭa type, with the legend *Yaśovarmā*, therefore, may possibly be attributed to him.[45] The name Śaṁkaravarman, however, appears on the copper issues of the monarch. The copper coin-type, which imitated the previous Toramāṇa type, came to be a popular one and was copied by the subsequent rulers almost without break up to the advent of Sahamera.

The political history of Kāśmīra after Śaṁkaravarman's death is a sordid tale of jealousy, intrigue and intestine conflicts. Presence of a number of claimants for the throne and their rivalry prevented the proper working of the government. The impotency of the authority was fully exploited by the Tantrins who in their close military organisation resembled the Praetorian guards of Rome and abused their strength in the same shameless manner. The pretenders of the throne were anxious to purchase their favour, and no sooner had one succeeded in winning them over than it was snatched away by another who had paid a higher price for it. Nothing was considered too high for the price of the crown and to attain it, to quote the words of a fomer chief minister of the valley, ' kings squandered their revenues, queens bartered their honour, the son intrigued against his father, and the father set assasins upon his offspring; all lost their sense of truth and dignity for the acquisition, howsoever temporary, of the fatal reward '. At last an energetic prince, with the help of the Ḍāmaras, succeeded in annihilating the Tantrins, ' who had so long held the crown as a pawn ' but with this act of the monarch, the country passed only from one trouble to another, for the Ḍāmaras, as we would shortly see, proved to be no less a menace to the stable Government than the Tantrins.

The political events that followed the death of Śaṁkaravarman may be summed up as follows. Gopālavarman, a minor son of Śaṁkaravarman succeeded the latter and reigned for two years (A.D. 902-904) under the guardianship of his mother Sugandhā. During this period the minister Prabhākaradeva, who according to Kalhaṇa was the widow queen's paramour, led a victorious expedition against the seat of Śāhi power at Und. He bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Śāhi upon Toramāṇa, Lalliya's son and gave him the new name Kamaluka. Kamaluka may be identified with Kamalu of Alberuni, the Hindu Śāhi prince of Udabhāṇḍapura.[46] Lalliya, as we have already noted, was possibly Kallar of Alberuni. According to Alberuni, between Kallar and Kamalu appears Samand[47] (Sāmanta) who may well be the ' rebellious Śāhi ' in defeating whom Kamaluka was aided by a Kāśmīrian force.

After Gopālavarman's death Saṁkaṭa, a supposititious son of Śaṁkaravarman was raised to the throne; but he died after ten days. Sugandhā then assumed the royal power herself (A.D. 904). During her reign, we hear for the first time of the Tantrins and the Ekāṅgas. The Tantrins were a body of foot soldiers who might have derived their designation from their tribal name Tantri and owned their close organisation to ethnic affinities. We have compared them with the Praetorian guards of Rome. According to the Chronicler, in the reign of Sugandhā they ' had formed a confederacy and were strong enough to punish or favour the rulers of this land '. The exact meaning of the term Ekāṅga can not be explained. But the Ekāṅgas too appear to have been a body organized in military fashion, who might be employed chiefly for police duties. They have been compared with the Pattan Nizamats of Kāśmīra, a regiment employed until a century ago to support the civil authorities. Like the Tantrins they had also assumed considerable power and had become by the tenth century a potent force in the body politic of Kāśmīra. Sugandhā carried on her administration for two years 'relying on the Ekāṅgas and through the goodwill of the Tantrins'. But on the question of succession, she came in conflict with the Tantrins. While she supported the claim of Nirjitavarman, nick named Paṅgu, a grandson of Śūravarman, the half brother of Avantivarman, the Tantrins backed Pārtha, ten year old son of Nirjitavarman, whom by an open rebellion they placed on the throne (A.D. 906). Sugandhā retired for the time being but with the Ekāṅga assistance made a bid for the throne in 914. In the conflict that followed, the Tantrins came out victorious. The Ekāṅga power was shattered on the battlefield. The queen was taken prisoner and was ultimately put to death.

From the moment of Pārtha's accession, it was his father Nirjitavarman who became the actual ruler of the valley. But to keep up his position, he had to pay large bribes to the Tantrins. In the exactions by which the Tantrins enriched themselves they were helped by two ministers Śaṁkaravardhana and Śaṁbhuvardhana, who consequently rose to prominence. In 917-18, a serious famine visited the valley which carried away a considerable part of the population. But in this great calamity, the ministers and the Tantrins amassed large fortunes by selling stores of rice at higher prices.

In the year 921, Pārtha was deposed by the Tantrins who placed Nirjitavarman formally on the throne. But the latter died after two years, and his son Cakravarman, a child, was kept on the throne under the guardianship of his mother and grandmother. A few years later a revolution of the Tantrins, deposed Cakravarman and placed his half-brother Śūravarman I in his place. As the new king could not pay the desired sums of money to the Tantrins, he was replaced by Pārtha. But the promise of still greater bribe led the Tantrins to depose him and raise once again Cakravarman to the throne. Cakravarman too had to leave the throne since he failed to fulfil the promise. The soldiery next sold the throne to Śaṁbhuvardhana.

Śaṁbhuvardhana could not long wield the sceptre. The Ḍāmaras, the landed aristocracy of the land, seem to have suffered considerably at the rise of the military confederacy. With their assistance, Cakravarman came to meet the Tantrins and defeated the latter completely in a pitched battle. Śaṁbhuvardhana was captured and assassinated. The year 936 marked Cakravarman's renewed assumption of sovereignty.

Great things were expected from a prince who would relieve the valley from the much dreaded soldiery. But Cakravarman's reign did not differ materially from that of his predecessors. He indulged in vile cruelties and excesses. His reign saw a predominance of the Ḍombas in the court and in the palace. Ultimately a conspiracy of the Ḍāmaras put an end to his life and rule (937 A.D.).

The king who followed was Unmattāvanti, another son of Pārtha. He surpassed his predecessor or anybody else in cruelties and gross licentious acts. His minister Parvagupta was planning to capture the crown and advised the monarch to kill his relatives. The king acted accordingly and killed his own father and other near ones with great delight. The valley must have sighed a great relief when he died in the year 939.

Śūravarman II, a supposititious son, whom Unmattāvanti had nominated as his heir, was next crowned. But before the child king's position could be consolidated, the commander-in-chief Kamalvardhana, with the purpose of seizing the throne for himself, came forward with a strong army. He fought with the combined forces of the Ḍāmaras and the Ekāṅgas and completely defeated them. The boy king fled. But at this moment, the general made a mistake by not capturing the throne immediately. He left the issue to be determined by a council of Brāhmaṇas with the hope that they would select him. But his plans were upset when the assembly opined for Yaśaskara, a son of Prabhākaradeva, the notorious paramour of queen Sugandhā.

Yaśaskara came to the throne in 939 A.D. and ruled for nine years. His reign witnessed a recovery from many of the ills of the previous periods. Order was brought out of the chaos, anarchy was supplanted by a strong rule and justice replaced tyranny. The royal officers had formerly 'plundered everything'. Now the only course left for them was 'to look after cultivation'. It is said that 'the foot soldiers found their end through him', which probably means that he took strong measures to suppress the Tantrins. Some stories of his judicial wisdom related by Kalhaṇa, illustrate his 'skill in the interpretation of legal contracts'. They have a curious historical look and may be trustworthy.

Besides other endowments Yaśaskara built a *maṭha* for the students of Āryadeśa 'who were devoting themselves to the acquisition of knowledge'. Āryadeśa probably denotes north India and the king's donation for students coming from

Āryadeśa and residing in Kāśmīra is significant as it reveals some intimate cultural contact existing between the happy valley and the plains of India in the tenth century. In the latter part of his reign, Yaśaskara is said to have mixed freely with the Ḍombas and other lower classes which was not welcome to the upper section. To this period he is also alleged to have amassed illegal fortunes through his city prefects.

At the approach of death, Yaśaskara nominated Varṇaṭa, the son of his paternal grand uncle Rāmadeva as his heir. But the latter incurred his displeasure by foolish acts as a result of which the crown finally fell upon Saṁgrāmadeva, a minor son of Yaśaskara.

Saṁgrāmadeva held the sceptre for a few months only (948-949 A.D.). Parvagupta, the minister, was scheming for the throne since the days of Unmattāvanti. Now he set himself assiduously for the purpose. First he put his rivals out of the way and then, in a stormy night, when the king's guards were away, by a sudden coup seized the royal power and killed the child king.

Parvagupta rose from lowly environments; his grandfather Abhinava was a clerk. He displayed ability and energy in administering the country and enforced obedience even from his strong adversaries, the malevolent princes, Ekāṅgas, chiefs, ministers, officers and Tantrins. But he oppressed the people by fiscal exactions. After a short reign, Parvagupta died with dropsy in 950 A.D.

Kṣemagupta succeeded his father. He was a man of gross licentious character and attended upon by evil-conducted favourites, kept himself engrossed in the vices of dice, liquor and women. His only notable act was the suppression of Saṁgrāma, a ring leader of the unruly Ḍāmaras.

Kṣemagupta married Diddā, the daughter of Siṁharāja, king of Lohara and the daughter's daughter of the Śāhi king Bhīmapāla. The marriage had important consequences upon the foreign policy of Kāśmīra. It linked her up with Lohara and after Diddā's death, the Lohara family continued to exercise sway over both the territories. The Śāhi influence upon the court of Kāśmīra from this time onwards comes to be more and more evident. During Kṣemagupta's reign, Bhīma Śāhi erected a temple of Bhīma Keśava in the adoptive country of his grand daughter and this bespeaks the Śāhi king's intimate relation with the valley.

A wilful and domineering lady, queen Diddā herself exercised immense influence over Kṣemagupta. So much so that the latter came to be known by the humiliating nickname Diddākṣema. There are coins with the legend *Di-kṣemaguptade* (*va*) written upon them.[48] The reasons which led the monarch to associate his consort's name with his own are not known. But it is plain enough that this peculiar method adopted by him is in itself sufficient to account for the use of the nickname. Seized by *lūtā* disease, Kṣemagupta died in 958.

After Kṣemagupta, the kingdom passed to his son Abhimanyu II. As he was a minor, the real authority was exercised by the regent mother Diddā. The early years of her regency were full of troubles and dangers. The minister Phalguṇa had incurred her wrath by giving his daughter to Kṣemagupta. So she compelled him to retire. When she tried to rid herself in the same way of two *grandees* Mahiman and Paṭala, grandsons of Parvagupta, they raised a great rebellion. The defeat was averted by a wise distribution of bribes among the followers of the rebel brothers and a conciliation was reached. Yaśodhara, a chief support of the rebels was raised by the queen to the position of commander-in-chief. But as he gave evidence of his merit by defeating Thakkana, a Śāhi prince, he aroused the queen's suspicion. When Diddā tried to send him to exile, Yaśodhara and his friends were driven to rebellion. For sometime, the queen was put in a difficult position and her palace was besieged. But the support of the minister Naravāhana and the Ekāṅga forces ultimately saved her. She took a terrible vengeance by executing all the captured rebels and exterminated their families.

The suppression of the rebellion was followed by a corresponding ascendancy of the minister Naravāhana. He was raised to the position of *Rājānaka* and the queen, for sometime, remained all attention to him. Then a treasurer succeeded in arousing suspicions in her mind against him. She came under the impression that the minister-general was trying to usurp the throne, ill-treated him and her insult ultimately drove her faithful adherent to commit suicide. Diddā's next attempt to kill Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma's sons resulted in a rebellion . To tackle the situation, the queen recalled Phalguṇa, who probably brought a reconciliation between the two parties.

In the year 972 A.D. Abhimanyu died and the crown passed to his son Nandigupta. The death of her son appears to have softened the heart of Diddā for the time being. Kalhaṇa assigns to this period the foundation of a number of temples and other buildings intended to perpetuate her own memory and that of her deceased son. One of the buildings, a convent, is said to have been created by her as a resort for the people of Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and 'Saudotra. Madhyadeśa seems to refer to midland India roughly corresponding to present Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, Lāṭa is central and southern Gujrat but Saudotra can not be placed.

The devotional mood of the queen, aroused in her heart at the death of her son, did not last for more than a year. She killed Nandigupta by 'witchcraft'. Another grandson, Tribhuvana (Gupta), who succeeded, was disposed of in the same manner (975 A.D.). There remained now her last grandson Bhīmagupta. During the five years of his nominal rule, Phalguṇa, who appears to have held a check upon the will of Diddā, died and the queen 'became with her open misdeeds and excesses a hundredfold terrifying like a personified tusker in rut who has torn off his face covering'. Tuṅga, a Khaśa from the hills of Parṇotsa, who had entered Kāśmīra and had secured a job in the royal service as bearer of despatches captivated her heart and openly became her paramour. When after a stay of four or five years in the royal palace the mind of the boy king Bhīmagupta began to mature, he perceived that the administration of the kingdom as well as the ways of his grandmother were shameful. So he tried for a reform. In this attempt, the prince became an object of suspicion to the fickle minded queen who sent him to prison and finally put him to death by various tortures.

After Bhīmagupta's death in 980 A.D., Diddā herself ascended the throne. She raised Tuṅga to the position of the prime minister and started to rule as a thorough autocrat. Discontented factions tried to oust Tuṅga. Prince Vigraharāja of Lohara, son of Diddā's brother was invited to invade Kāśmīra from outside, while Brāhmaṇas of the important *agrahāras* were induced to enter upon a hunger strike against Tuṅga. But Diddā very cunningly won over the Brāhmaṇas by a distribution of bribes. In the absence of any support from within, Vigraharāja's plan of invasion failed and he was compelled to retreat. Another attempt was made by him subsequently to stir up rebellion among the Kāśmīra Brāhmaṇas. But by that time Tuṅga had secured his position. He suppressed the rebellion with a strong hand. Tuṅga also proved his ability in distant campaigns. Pṛthvīpāla, the king of Rājapurī defied the authority of Kāśmīra which invited an invasion by the latter.

Tuṅga was at the head of the expeditionary force and completely defeated Pṛthvīpāla and compelled him to agree to pay tribute. During the last years of Diddā, there was a Ḍāmara rising. Tuṅga 'annihilated the pest of the Ḍāmaras with the courage of a lion'. In the year 1003, Diddā died. But before her death she transmitted her crown to Saṁgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara. Thus the rule over Kāśmīra passed peacefully to a new dynasty.

In spite of gross immorality and other defects of character, queen Diddā's claim of being one of the ablest sovereigns of Kāśmīra can hardly be denied. She came to the throne at a critical time. The greedy Brāhmaṇas, unscrupulous landholders, conspiring nobles and even adventurers outside the realm had all joined their hands time and again to oust her. By bribing some, and cajoling others, by wise and discriminating distribution of wealth and favour, she drove the enemy, she won the opponents, she steered clear the ship of State through storms and stresses. The lust for power led her to undertake at times acts of great cruelty, but that does not indicate that she was lacking in humanity. When once she fell into grief at the death of her son, her repentance found expression in the numberless shrines and monasteries, she erected.

Saṁgrāmarāja appears to have been a prudent but weak ruler. During the early part of his reign Tuṅga's power was unchecked, inspite of a rebellion raised against him by the Brāhmaṇas and the temple *purohitas*. But growing age made the prime minister deficient in intellect and his appointment of rapacious officials who cut off the maintenance allowances of the gods, cows, Brāhmaṇas, the orphans and the guests and oppressed the people by various fiscal exactions, made him unpopular.

While the priests and nobles were fighting in Kāśmīra and the royal officers teasing the citizens, a new drama was being enacted on the northwestern fringes of India. Sultan Mahmud, the ruler of Ghazni, was carrying on operations against the kingdoms situated on the northwestern parts of India and one after another, they were crumbling before his onslaught. The most formidable barrier towards the progress of the Ghaznavids was the kingdom of the Śāhis. Several attempts were made by the followers of Islam to conquer it. According to Muslim chroniclers, during the early years of the 11th century, Sultan Mahmud inflicted crushing defeats upon the Hindu princes of Udabhāṇḍa.[49] Sometime about 1013 when the Śāhi ruler Trilocanapāla was reigning, an attack was made upon his territory by the Sultan. According to Nizamuddin and Firishta, Mahmud's first attack, on this occasion, was directed against the fort of Nandana situated among the Bālnāth hills[50] which fell after some resistance. Trilocanapāla then retired to Kāśmīra and most probably, at this stage, he sought assistance from Saṁgrāmarāja. In compliance with the Śāhi request, Tuṅga was sent by the king of Kāśmīra at the head of a large army to help the Śāhi king against Hammīra, i.e., Mahmud of Ghazni. Blinded by his desire for battle, Tuṅga did not listen to the words of the Śāhi ruler who advised him to post his army on the scrap of a hill awaiting the approach of the enemy. He committed a blunder by crossing the river Tauṣī and giving open fight to the Turkṣ. When attacked by the Turks, the army of Tuṅga fled from the field in utter confusion and with the remnant of his shattered forces he retreated to Kāśmīra.

On his return to Kāśmīra, Tuṅga was held in disgrace for his failure. The conspirators who had formerly raised a rebellion, now found an opportunity to oust him. The king who was 'weak and indolent by nature' had disliked Tuṅga since the days of his accession. Instigated by secret letters from his brother Vigraharāja, he now began to look for an opportunity to remove him. Finally when one day the unsuspected Tuṅga, invited by the king, attended his royal palace with a small number of followers, he was killed by the king's agents.

The most notable event in the history of Kāśmīra after the death of Tuṅga was the attempt made by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni to conquer the valley. Though the pages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* are silent regarding the details of this attempted invasion, an echo of it seems to be preserved incidentally in a passage where Kalhaṇa speaks of the cowardly conduct of the sons of low-born Candramukha 'who on being sent by the king to fight with the Turuṣkas, like Tuṅga, turned, fled and again came back to their own country'. For a detailed description of the Muslim campaign, we shall have to turn to the Muslim historians. According to Nizamuddin, Mahmud did not rest content with the laurels he won on the banks of Tauṣī, but at once entered the secluded valley and 'carried away much booty in the shape of prisoners of war, and gold, and after converting many infidels to Islam, and laying the foundations of Islam, went back to Ghazni'.[51] Sultan's invasion of Kāśmīra was repeated in the year 406 A.H., i.e., in 1015 A.D. According to Firishta, 'Mahmud in the year A.H. 406 revisited Kāśmīra with his army in order to punish some rebellious chiefs, and to besiege some forts, which he had not reduced in his former expedition. The first of these forts was Lohkot, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated the Sultan's utmost efforts; for having failed to reduce it during the summer, he was obliged, on the approach of winter, to abandon his enterprise and return to Ghazni. On his route, he was misled by his guides, and falling into extensive morasses, from which for several days he could not extricate his army, many of his troops perished, and he failed in all the enterprise of this campaign '.[52] Firishta's story receives confirmation from Nizamuddin's account.[53] In A.D. 1021 Mahmud again invaded Kāśmīra. But after laying siege to the fort of Lohkot for about a month, he found it impregnable and then he left the project and returned to Lahore.[54] Muslim attempt to conquer Kāśmīra in the early eleventh century thus ended in a failure.

Saṁgrāmarāja died in 1028 A.D. after giving his son Harirāja the bath of coronation. Harirāja died after a reign of twenty-two days. According to Kalhaṇa Harirāja's mother Śrīlekhā, who lived the life of a wanton woman brought the end of her son by the use of witchcraft and after her son's death tried to seize the crown for herself. But Śrīlekhā's plans were frustrated by the Ekāṅga forces who raised her son Ananta to the throne. Taking advantage of the dissensions in the royal family, Vigraharāja, a brother of Saṁgrāmarāja and ruler of Lohara arrived at the capital of Kāśmira with a large force to drive out Ananta. But the troops of Kāśmīra routed him totally along with his followers.

The early years of Ananta's reign were marked by the growing influence of the Śāhi princes in the court who were now driven away from Und by the Muslim invaders and took shelter in the valley. One of these *Śāhiputras*, Rudrapāla, married the daughter of the Jālaṁdhara king, Inducandra, while king Ananta was induced to marry Suryamatī, a younger daughter of the same king.

A dangerous rising of the Ḍāmaras, headed by the rebel commander-in-chief Tribhuvana was successfully defeated by Ananta. An invasion of the Darad ruler Acalamaṅgala and seven *mleccha* kings allied with him was similarly defeated with the help of the Śāhi prince Rudrapāla. The *mleccha* allies of the Darad king apparently denote the tribal leaders living on the frontier of Kāśmīra who had been probably converted to Islam by this time. King Ananta's victory over the Darads and their associates is also alluded to by Bilhaṇa in *Vikramāṅkadeva-*

carita. He, however, uses the term Śaka in place of *mleccha* which may indicate that the *mleccha* or converted Muslim princes were originally Śakas.[55]

When Rudrapāla and other Śāhi princes had died, Ananta came more and more under the influence of his queen Suryamatī. He was plunging headlong in debts due to his extravagant habits. His relief came when the queen took full charge of the royal affairs. Haladhara, a Vaiśya, rose to the position of prime-minister through her favour. He proved to be a successful administrator and secured for a time peace and prosperity for the valley.

Peace at home and a well filled treasury led Ananta to undertake some expeditions around the valley. In Campā he uprooted the Rājā Sāla and placed on the throne a new monarch. Sāla seems to be identical with king Sālavāhanadeva mentioned in the Cambā copper plate and the new king raised to the throne was probably the latter's son, Somavarman. If Bilhaṇa is to be believed in addition to Campā, his supremacy was acknowledged by the hill states of Dārvābhisāra, Trigarta and Bhartula.[56] But Ananta's campaigns lacked any definite plan and those against the hill states of Uraśā and Vallāpura ended in failure and ignominious retreat.

In the year 1063, Ananta at his queen's advice abdicated the throne in favour of his son Kalaśa. Shortly after, the royal couple came to regret their step, and the diplomatic Haladhara induced the old king to assume his authority once more. The royal authority came to be exercised as usual by Ananta while Kalaśa remained king only by name. At this time Kṣitirāja, the king of Lohara, resigned worldly affairs and as he disliked his own son, he bestowed his kingdom upon Utkarṣa, the second son of Kalaśa. This succession was an event of great consequence, destined to bring the hill state of Lohara and the kingdom of Kāśmīra under one rule, on Utkarṣa's succession to Kāśmīra.

The arrangement of the joint rule over Kāśmīra went on smoothly for sometime. But as time passed Kalaśa grew more and more licentious in habits. A fracas in which the prince openly suffered disgrace brought a rupture in the relation of the father and the son. Ananta, who was going to imprison his son, was prevented by his queen who induced him to retire to the sacred *tīrtha* of Vijayeśvara, along with troops and royal treasures. For a time, Kalaśa felt some difficulty for the loss of wealth. But he soon recovered by organizing the administration in an effective manner. He then started to collect forces to attack the old king. Ananta, who was still powerful enough to deprive Kalaśa of the realm, again allowed himself to be carried away by his queen who persuaded him not to take any action against Kalaśa. Ananta contented himself by summoning to Vijayeśavra Kalaśa's eldest son Harṣa whom he wanted to impose on the State.

After a brief period of truce, Kalaśa resumed hostilities with his father. Realising that the chief strength of Ananta lay in his riches, he set fire to Vijayeśvara. The old king lost everything and when the son was on the point of sending him to exile, after a violent altercation with his wife, he committed suicide (A.D. 1081).

The picture of Kalaśa, which Kalhaṇa presents before us after the death of king Ananta, is quite different from his previous one. Henceforward he appears as an enlightened monarch, devoted solely in loving kindness and care to the people. He made reconciliation with Harṣa and brought him to Śrīnagara. He also set himself assiduously in reorganizing the financial administration in which he received considerable help from his able officers. Prosperity at home permitted Kalaśa to send expeditions in the neighbouring regions. Seizing the opportunity of a civil war in Rājapura between Saṁgrāmapāla and his uncle Madanapāla, he intervened in the affairs and established Kāśmīra's suzerainty over the hill state. Uraśā was next invaded and a commander of the Kāśmīra army after crossing the river Kṛṣṇā (Kiṣangaṅgā) 'seized the Government, together with the heads of horses of its *rājā* named Abhaya'. In the winter of the year 1087-88, there assembled in the court of Kalaśa several kings owing allegiance to their Kāśmīrian overlord. These were Kīrti, the chief of Baddhāpura, Āsaṭa, the *rājā* of Campā, Kalaśa, the ruler of Vallāpura, Saṁgrāmapāla, the chief of Rājapurī, Utkarṣa, the ruler of Lohara, Saṅgaṭa, the king of Uraśā, Gāmbhīrasīha, the chief of Kānda and Uttamarāja, the ruler of Kāṣṭhavāṭa. Of the hill-chiefs, here enumerated, Kīrti may be king Kīrtirāja of Nīlapura whose daughter was married by Kalaśa. Āsaṭa, *rājā* of Campā is the prince of the same name mentioned in the copper plates of Cambā, who executed king Somavarmadeva. Against Kalaśa, the king of Vallāpura, Ananta led an unsuccessful expedition (ante p. 61). Saṁgrāmapāla, the lord of Rājāpurī was the son of Sahajapāla and the king of Kāśmīra reinstated Saṁgrāma to the throne of Rājapurī after defeating Madanapāla, his rival claimant. Utkarṣa was the second son of Kalaśa, the king of Kāśmīra. Saṅgaṭa, Gāmbhīrasīha and Uttamarāja can not be identified.

Prince Harṣa could not pull on well long with his father and induced by some evil advice conspired to dethrone him. The conspiracy leaked out. Kalaśa attempted to obtain from his son a repudiation of the plot but failing that ordered his arrest. It is said by Kalhaṇa, that the conduct of his son had a telling effect on the character of Kalaśa who reverted to his old licentious life. Kalaśa died in 1089 but before his death had passed the crown to his younger son Utkarṣa.

Utkarṣa continued the policy of his father regarding Harṣa and kept him in a more guarded prison. But his general conduct alienated his followers and a plot was hatched against him by displeased princes like Vijayamalla and Jayarāja. With the help of the Ḍāmaras they defeated Utkarṣa and besieged him at the royal palace. The object of the rebels was to release Harṣa. This could very well have been foiled if Utkarṣa had ordered his death, but he vacillated and afterwards released Harṣa to reach a reconciliation with the rebel party. As soon as Harṣa came out of confinement, he forcibly assumed the royal power and sent Utkarṣa into prison where the latter ended his life by his own hand. Utkarṣa died at the age of twenty four after a reign of a few days only.

Harṣa came to the throne in 1089. The early years of his rule saw eminent success. He adopted a wise policy in retaining many of the ministers, officials and servants of his father's time and by his kind disposition, won their devotion. His court was veritably a centre of luxury and splendour. He introduced in the country many new fashions in dress and ornaments. His courtiers were gorgeously dressed and wore earrings and head-dresses which were so long used exclusively by the monarchs of Kāśmīra. Out of his love of Dākṣiṇātya, Harṣa introduced some fashions of that territory in his own land. Kalhaṇa says that Harṣa adopted even the Karṇāṭa coin types in the coins of Kāśmīra and the gold coins of the king with the elephant type amply corroborate the poet's statement. Himself a poet and an admirer of fine arts and literature, Harṣa was a *kalpavṛkṣa* in his munificence towards the artists and litterateurs of his age. We find the Kāśmīrian poet Bilhaṇa, who left Kāśmīra during the reign of Kalaśa and lived in the court of the lord of Karṇāṭa, lamenting over the loss for his absence in the court of Harṣa.

Successful in his home administration, Harṣa tried to assert his authority in some of the adjoining mountain territories of Kāśmīra. Saṁgrāmapāla of Rājapurī, at this time, for reasons not known to us, had turned hostile to Kāśmīra. Harṣa despatched his faithful officer Kandarpa at the head of a garrison to fight with Saṁgrāma. In the battle which ensued, Kandarpa defeated the lord of Rājapurī and forced him to pay tribute. But then Harṣa at the advice of some evil parasites banished this heroic general.

Shortly after, conspirators began to hatch up plots to oust Harṣa from the throne. General Vijayamalla, the brother of Harṣa, had raised a rebellion against him in the early part of his reign but receiving no support from the Kāśmīrī ministers or soldiers, he had to flee to Darad country, where he died in an avalanche crash. Another brother of the Kāśmīrian king, Jayarāja by name and a relative named Dhammaṭa, who were desirous of the throne started secret intrigues to kill Harṣa. The plan was disclosed, before it could be given final effect to, and Harṣa by an unique display of his diplomatic skill executed both the rebels. But the Kāśmīra monarch did not rest there. He also massacred a number of his near relatives apprehending similar treason on their part. Among these hapless victims was Ḍomba, the eldest son of Utkarṣa.

The money spent on personal luxuries as well as upon foreign expeditions impoverished the royal treasury. Urgent necessity for money at last turned the liberal king into a cruel oppressor. Kalhaṇa relates in detail the king's act of confiscation of temple-properties. It may be noted here that Harṣa not only annexed the treasures of the temple, but also appointed officers called *devotpāṭananāyaka* to desecrate temples and then to overthrow the divine images which could be sold at their metal value. These anti-religious acts of Harṣa earned for him the title of 'Turuṣka'. But the temple spoliation alone could not feed Harṣa's need for money. He also introduced new imposts and appointed special officers to raise taxes. Kalhaṇa says that the king, in order to 'extort money through all sorts of prefects, appointed.......even a prefect of nightsoil'.

From this time onwards, Harṣa's career becomes a record of follies and misdeeds. Guided by evil counsellors he began to excel in all kinds of sins and crimes conceivable to man. He placed in his seraglio a large number of concubines but not satisfied with them, he held intercourse even with his near and dear relatives.

The foreign wars in which Harṣa was engulfed about this time also ended in disaster. He led an expedition against Rājapurī but had to retreat owing to the treachery of his prefect of police, Sunna. He next attempted to capture the fort of Dugdhaghāṭa from the Darads, but in the rainy night in which the siege was undertaken, he was seriously defeated at the hands of the enemies and had to return home with his followers. To crown the misfortunes, a serious flood caused a famine in the valley in A.D. 1099 and that was followed by a plague which carried away a considerable part of the population.

A confusion followed these misfortunes in which even murders were freely committed on roads in open daylight and daring burglars stole golden cups even from the king's apartment.

The landed aristocracy of the valley, the Ḍāmaras, fully utilized the anarchical condition of the days. Lying secure in their own demesnes, they scoured the king's territory for plunder. Furious at their behaviour, Harṣa took serious steps to crush them. He carried a relentless persecution of the Ḍāmaras who at this time appear to have mostly belonged to the tribal division of the Lavanyas. When the Ḍāmaras of the Maḍavarājya were exterminated to a great extent, the king turned his attention upon Kramarājya, where, however, the Ḍāmaras gave some effective organized opposition.

At this stage, Harṣa committed a grave blunder which ultimately cost his throne and life. In the expedition of Dugdhaghāṭa, two brothers and princes named Uccala and Sussala, descended from a side branch of the Lohara dynasty, had fought on Harṣa's side and had given evidence of uncommon courage and heroism. Harṣa suddenly began to suspect them as rival claimants to the throne and planned to murder them. Being aware of the evil intentions of the king, the princes fled but then joined by the Ḍāmaras and Khāśikas entered Kāśmīra at the head of a powerful army. In the battle which followed, Harṣa's officers betrayed him and the royal army was thoroughly crushed. The victorious army of Uccala and Sussala entered Śrīnagara and set fire to the royal palace. The palace was first burnt down and then looted by the wild mob. Harṣa's son Bhoja was murdered. The king himself left the city and took shelter in a beggar's hut, but he was hunted down and slain cruelly.

Kalhaṇa gives an elaborate account of Harṣa's character. It appears that he was a learned person, a poet of some merit, a courageous soldier and a conscientious judge. But then his was a character composed of contradictory qualities like cruelty and kindness, authority and anarchy, liberality and greed and other apparently irreconcilable features. The excess with which all these qualities were displayed by the prince rightly leads some modern historian to find in his character 'the unmistakable indications of an unsound mind'.

The chief underlying cause of the 'unsound mind' of the king lay in his inability to grasp the deeper causes underlying the problems of the time and his failure to cope with the changed circumstances. By a liberal distribution of wealth, he won over the feudatories and the officers. But when he found them betraying him, he grew furious and his wrath found expression in inhuman cruel measures adopted towards them and to their families. He failed to appreciate that bribing was a very inactive measure to win the permanent allegiance of the subordinates, that the infidelity of his nobles lay deeper in their ambition to hold and control the royal power which again was spurred by their great wealth and power; they were also incited by similar examples of preceding reigns. Harṣa took wild steps to crush the baron Ḍāmaras but never contemplated a change in the land tenure system which fostered their growth. He indulged in foreign expeditions when the country was facing bankruptcy, perhaps under the impression that newly conquered land would add to the wealth of the State but never realized the consequences of a failure. His method of collecting ready money by taxing the people and confiscating the temple property was equally unwise. He should have paid more attention to the improvement of methods and machineries of production which alone could yield the surplus wealth to meet the expensive budget of the State. His policy of raising money robbed the country of its reserved resources.

Harṣa died in the year 1101 A.D., to be succeeded by the eldest of the rebel brothers, Uccala. Uccala's claim on the crown of the valley was not based upon the might of the sword alone. He was, through Jassarāja, Guṅga and Malla, the fourth direct descendant of Kāntirāja, the brother of Diddā and uncle of king Saṁgrāmarāja of Kāśmīra.

The first duty before Uccala after his accession to the throne was to disarm his troublesome allies, the Ḍāmaras, who appeared to be a constant source of peril to the throne. Uccala succeeded, for the time being, to curb the power of the wild barons and for this purpose he used the weapons of force as well as diplomacy. Janakacandra, a powerful Ḍāmara chief, was destroyed by

Uccala's display of Kauṭilyian cunning. Kāliya and other Ḍāmaras of Maḍavarājya who showed tendencies of playing against the king were immediately crushed. Sussala, the ambitious younger brother of Uccala, who looked upon the power of Kāśmīra king with envy was also removed. He was sent in charge of the kingdom of Lohara where he was allowed to rule in an independent capacity.

Freed from troubles, king Uccala next turned his attention to the task of reorganizing the internal administration of the land. He thoroughly overhauled the bureaucracy. The Kāyastha officials of the valley who were found engrossed in corruption and dishonesty were punished or dismissed. By the strong steps taken against the dishonest official class, the king secured the attachment of the lower class people who constituted the bulk of the population. Like the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century Europe, Uccala considered himself as the first servant of the State and devoted his whole energy to the service of his subjects. In times of famine, he sold grains to his people at cheap prices from the royal granary and thus saved them from utter ruin. He administered justice in an even-handed manner and like Caliph Haroun al Rashid of Bagdad moved among his subjects incognito, hearing their grievances, and redressing them as far as practicable.

But then there was a dark side too in the king's character. Kalhaṇa relates that the monarch was jealous of noble bearing, courage, intelligence, power of endurance and youth in other persons. He was also haughty by nature and was in the habit of publicly discussing the shortcomings of the lineage, daily life, and personal appearance etc. of his followers. The inevitable result of all these acts was the alienation of his dependants and in times of crisis the king was deprived of their natural fidelity and affection.

Sometime after Uccala had consolidated his position in the valley, his brother Sussala made an attack on him to deprive him of the kingdom. The attack, however, was repulsed with the help of the Ḍāmara leader Gargacandra and Sussala was forced to take his refuge in the land of Darads, from where, after many troubles he regained his own territory, the kingdom of Lohara. A reconciliation between two brothers took place at the birth of Jayasiṁha, the son of Sussala in 1105-06 A.D.

A second attempt to oust Uccala was made by the Ḍāmara leader Bhīmadeva who, with the assistance of the Darad king, raised a person named Bhoja, son of the late Kāśmīrian king

Kalaśa as a pretender to the throne. By a display of his unique diplomacy, Uccala divided the Darad ruler Jagaddala from the Ḍāmara rebels. The enemy, thus weakened, was easily defeated and Bhoja was put to death. Bhoja's son Bhikṣācara at first remained in Uccala's custody. Afterwards he aroused suspicions in the king's mind. But before the boy could be put to death, he fled to the court of Paramāra king Naravarman (*c.* 1097-1111 A.D.) and grew up there only to become a dangerous enemy of the valley later on.

While Uccala was engaged in suppressing the rebellion of the Ḍāmaras and having the pretenders put out of the way, a serious conspiracy was silently gaining momentum, beside the throne. The engineers of the plot were the city prefect Chuḍḍa and his brother Raḍḍa who claimed descent from Yaśaskara. They were supported by many officials, who were either dismissed or insulted by the arrogant king. One night, when Uccala, unarmed as he was, was proceeding from his palace to the seraglio, he was attacked by the conspirators and was killed without mercy (1111 A.D.).

After Uccala's death, Raḍḍa assumed the title of Śankharāja and took the royal sceptre in his blood stained hands. But he was soon removed from his position by a powerful Ḍāmara chief, Gargacandra by name. Garga raised on the throne of Kāśmīra a step brother of Uccala, Salhaṇa by name. Salhaṇa had not the slightest capacity to rule. A worthless prince, he was merely a puppet in the hands of the Ḍāmara chief. At the news of his brother's death, Sussala had made an attempt to seize the crown of the valley. But attacked by Ḍāmara Gargacandra, he was forced to flee to his own kingdom. Sometime after, at the connivance of the king, the rival *grandee* attacked Gargacandra. They failed to do any harm to Garga. Garga was much dissatisfied at the king's conduct. He invited Sussala to take charge of Kāśmīra. Sussala accepted the offer and entered Kāśmīra with his army. The people, who were tired of the imbecile Salhaṇa, at once received him with welcome. After a brief struggle, Salhaṇa was captured and Sussala ascended the throne in 1112 A.D.

The character of the new monarch was in many respects similar to that of his elder brother. He kept his sword unsheathed from the ever present apprehension of treason. He systematically hunted and destroyed the family of the traitors against his brothers. Realizing the wickedness of the people, he bore himself with relentlessness. In his hot temper also, he resembled his elder brother and could not bear effrontery on the part of his dependants. But inspite of so much similarity, Sussala was unlike his elder brother, a soft-hearted king. Unlike his brother he also was not in the habit of using harsh words to honourable men. But a great defect of Sussala's character was his miserliness and greed for money, which hastened his downfall.

Sussala had to face obstacles from the very moment of his accession. Firstly, Ḍāmara Gargacandra refused to surrender Uccala's son to him and over this matter a quarrel arose between the two. The Ḍāmara chief was at last persuaded to submit but with much difficulty. In the second place there was the problem of the deposed king Salhaṇa and Loṭhana. By confining both of them at the fort of Lohara, the king consolidated his position in that territory. He also formed an alliance with the neighbouring kings of Kāliñjara and Rājapurī. Now Sussala was attacked by some Ḍāmaras of Devasarasa in which the king escaped death only by sheer luck. The next important incident in his reign was Sahasramaṅgala and other exiled nobles' attempt to overthrow him by invading his kingdom. The king's vigilance, however, frustrated their plan. This was followed by the rise of a formidable enemy in the person of Bhikṣācara, the grandson of Harṣa. It has been mentioned already that the youth was brought up in the court of the Paramāra king Naravarman. Joined by the tribal hill-chiefs of Campā, Vartula, Vallāpura, Trigarta and Babbāpura, he planned to invade Kāśmīra. But their internal dissensions, prevented Bhikṣācara from undetraking any active step for the time being.

The next few years were utilized by Sussala in the re-organization of the administrative machinery and especially of the finance. He appointed Kāyastha Gauraka to the position of *sarvādhikāra* who, with the help of other Kāyastha officials, soon filled the royal treasury. But by extorting the people, the king and his officers became unpopular.

The Ḍāmara chief Gargacandra had long been a source of trouble. Sometime about 1117 A.D., Sussala found an opportunity to suppress him. He skilfully played Mallakoṣṭha, who had long been an enemy of Garga, against him. Exasperated after long struggle, Gargacandra surrendered himself to the king, was imprisoned together with his family and afterwards put to death (1118 A.D.).

In the very year of 1118 A.D. Sussala started an expedition against Somapāla, chief of Rājapurī, who had invited Bhikṣācara at his court. The Kāśmīrian king kept Rājapurī under occupation for seven months continuously but failed to place there Somapāla's rival and brother Nāgapāla whose cause he had taken up. The military expedition into Rājapurī involved huge expenditure as a result of which Sussala had to further increase the taxes of his kingdom. He dismissed Gauraka, whom he considered unsuitable for the purpose.

The new taxation alienated his subjects while his policy of sending into the castle of Lohara masses of gold, having made them into gold ingots, irritated the nobility. In the year 1120, there was a rebellion of the Ḍāmaras headed by Pṛthvīhara in east Kāśmīra. Within a short time, it was followed by the rising of the Ḍāmaras in other parts of the valley. Sussala failed to check his opponents and when they threatened the capital, he retaliated by killing the Ḍāmaras who were held as hostages. Then Mallakoṣṭha brought the pretender Bhikṣācara into Kāśmīra which gave the revolt an unity of purpose and a well defined object. On the other hand, the foolish acts and rude conduct of Sussala exasperated his officers and the commander-in-chief Tilaka ultimately joined the enemy. The Ḍāmaras, headed by Bhikṣācara, surrounded the capital. There were troubles within the capital too, for in this critical hour the Brāhmaṇa assemblies, holding fasts, tried to gain control over the king's affairs, while treachery was rampant among the royal troops. Sussala held his capital against heavy odds with great courage. But at last, a rebellion among the king's own army, forced Sussala to leave the city. On the 6th of the dark half of Mārgaśiras, in 1120 A.D., the king reached Lohara with a handful of followers. The forces which were left behind in the capital, joined Bhikṣācara, who entered triumphant into Śrīnagara.

As Bhikṣācara did not know much about governing a State, the real royal power came to rest with his *sarvādhikāra* Bimba. Moreover the king soon developed a taste for new women and rich dishes. The quarrel among the leading Ḍāmaras further worsened the condition of the State.

The political troubles had their effects on the country's economy, and trade and business came to a standstill. At this time Bhikṣācara sent his *sarvādhikāra* at the head of an army to conquer Lohara. In this venture he received the assistance of the chief of Rājapurī, Somapāla and was also joined by a Turuṣka force under Sallāra Vismaya, who, as some scholars suggest, was probably a Muslim chief from the lower Punjab hills.[57] But the combined force which met Sussala on the banks of the Vitolā, near Parṇotsa was totally routed. Many of the defeated Kāśmīrian soldiers now joined Sussala who marched towards Śrīnagara to reconquer his kingdom. The rule of Bhikṣācara had been disliked by the people who wanted Sussala's revival. The Ḍāmara leaders Mallakoṣṭha and Janakacandra now joined him. The Brāhmaṇa corporation expressed their faith in Sussala. Under everything favourable, Sussala returned back to Śrīnagara unopposed on Jyaiṣṭha 1121. Bhikṣācara and Pṛthvīhara left the capital and took refuge with Somapāla, the chief of Rājapuri.

At the village Puṣyāṇanāḍa (modern Puṣiāna), at the southern foot of the Pīr Pantsāl, Bhikṣācara placed himself firmly and from that strategic position began to raid upon the valley incessantly with his Ḍāmara friends. Once Bhiksācara and Pṛthvīhara proceeded to the Maḍavarājya and after defeating the army of the Kāśmīrian king at Vijayeśvara burnt the shrine of Viṣṇu Cakradhara. But Bhikṣācara could not take full advantage of his success, for the Ḍāmaras, seeing his great prowess, grew jealous of him and 'became lukewarm in his cause'. Sussala did not hesitate to take advantage of the dissensions in Bhikṣācara's flank. He coerced a section of the Ḍāmaras into submission and forced the pretender to return back to Puṣyāṇanāḍa. The respite, which he got, Sussala utilized in freeing himself from the hands of those Kāśmīrian ministers and generals who had been traitors by sending them to imprisonment or exile and appointed foreigners in those places.

In the early part of 1122 A.D. Bhikṣācara, together with Ptṛhvīhara and other associates, entered Kāśmīra. In the struggles which followed Sussala initially obtained some success but then suffered heavily while crossing the Gambhīrā river on his way of retreat to Śrīnagara. Bereft of the larger portion of his army, Sussala was again besieged in Śrīnagra. But with the help of twenty or thirty Rajputs, from Vallāpura, Campā and the adjoining hill regions, he held his own. With the help of these mercenaries Sussala also gained a victory over the pretender near the Gopādri hill, south east of the city (1122 A.D.). The victory did not crush the power of the Ḍāmaras but gave Sussala once more the chance to take the offensive.

In the spring of the following year, Bhikṣācara again succeeded in beseiging Śrīnagara and ceaseless encounters followed round the capital. In one of these engagements, the Ḍāmaras set fire to the capital. The fire put to ashes a great part of the city and destroyed the reserved food crops of Śrīnagara.

All the passages being blocked by the Ḍāmaras, Sussala could not bring foodstuff from the country side and the capital underwent a terrible famine which carried away a large number of the populace.

To make matters worse for Sussala, his beloved queen Meghamañjarī died at this time. In a dejected state of mind Sussala decided to abdicate the throne, and crowned his eldest son Jayasiṁha on the 1st of Āṣaḍha, 1123. But sometime after, Sussala changed his mind. He kept the reins of the government in his own hand and began to distrust his son whom he even placed under surveillance. Outwardly, Jayasiṁha's coronation, however, helped him to pacify the country. He succeeded in subduing the Ḍāmaras at Kalyāṇapura who had no unity of purpose and Bhikṣācara was forced to flee to Śamālā (modern Hamal district).

In order to get rid of Bhikṣācara, Sussala now made a plan to kill him secretly. A plot was hatched with Utpala, an agent of Ḍāmara Ṭikka and it was decided that Utpala would kill Bhikṣācara at Ṭikka's seat and then Ṭikka. But Utpala, who was Ṭikka's man, disclosed the matter to his master and formed conspiracy to kill the king in turn. Sussala used to hold secret conferences with Utpala. On one occasion, Utpala and his associates found the king unguarded and killed him brutally (1128).

The first few days of Jayasiṁha's reign were extremely critical. There was every possibility that the rebels would attack him. But Jayasiṁha was lucky that they did not take any offensive. Jayasiṁha, however, in order to have the support of the powerful men of the kingdom, including those who had once joined their hands with the enemy, declared a general amnesty. Ḍāmara Pañcacandra, son of Gargacandra came to his help. Bhikṣācara, in his attempt to enter the capital was repulsed by Pañcacandra shortly after. When Sujji and other trusty officials of Sussala cutting their way through the Ḍāmara hosts joined Jayasiṁha, the king's position became more assured.

Bhikṣācara's next attack was repulsed by Sujji on the bank of the Gambhīrā. This was followed by other minor successes of the royal army. Jayasiṁha's principal adviser Lakṣmaka won over most of the Ḍāmara chiefs by a judicious use of bribes. At last Bhikṣācara had to leave Kāśmīra. As Jayasiṁha's treaty with Somapāla of Rājapurī prevented him from having a refuge in Rājapurī, he stopped at his father-in-law's house on the banks of the Candrabhāgā.

Jayasiṁha seems to have been a statesman of high calibre. He realized that his position could be maintained only if the turbulent Ḍāmaras could be kept in check. The royal authority was not strong enough to suppress these feudal lords. So he adopted the strategy of playing one powerful Ḍāmara against another. Though this policy failed to suppress the Ḍāmaras permanently, it at least gave Jayasiṁha relief for the time being. The same policy of divide and rule, Jayasiṁha employed in case of his officers.

From the south, Bhikṣācara soon made an attempt to invade the valley. Thanks to the diplomacy of Lakṣmaka and measures adopted by Sujji, the pretender was obliged to retire. Sujji, however, was soon exiled and then driven into the enemy's camp through the jealousy of Lakṣmaka. Bhikṣācara, longing for the throne, once more made a bid. But the cunning diplomacy of Lakṣmaka succeeded in isolating him at the castle of Bāṇaśālā, where he was captured and killed (A.D. 1130).

Bhikṣācara, the arch enemy of his family was killed, but troubles were brewing for Jayasiṁha in other quarters. Loṭhana, the brother of ex-king Salhaṇa, fled from the jail with the help of some traitor royal officers and took possesion of Lohara. Jayasiṁha soon sent a large army under Lakṣmaka to recapture Lohara. The royal army blockaded the hill-fortress but without any result. On the other hand, the summer fever of the neighbouring hilly regions carried away a large number of Jayasiṁha's men. Lakṣmaka was compelled to return, but on the way he was attacked by Sujji and Somapāla. The royal army was completely defeated and Lakṣmaka was taken prisoner. Subsequently, Lakṣmaka was ransomed at a cost of thirty six lakhs and resumed his former position as Jayasiṁha's chief minister.

For sometime, Jayasiṁha's diplomacy to recapture Lohara did not meet with any success. Loṭhana, with Sujji as his chief minister, succeeded in maintaining his position. But then a plot in the Lohara court deprived Loṭhana of his crown and raised Mallārjuna, a son of Sussala and a half brother of Jayasiṁha to the throne (A. D. 1131). The new prince was weak, extravagant and profligate. Jayasiṁha sent an army against him and forced him to pay tribute. Mallārjuna's positon in Lohara was further worsened by constant attack of his uncle Loṭhana, who had secured the support of Ḍāmara Koṣṭheśvara. This Ḍāmara chief in fact became the master of the neighbouring regions of Lohara and made Mallārjuna's hold on the castle precarious. At this time by a masterful display of his diplomacy, Jayasiṁha won over Koṣṭheśvara. Sujji, whom the Kāśmīrian monarch had already received to his side, he sent to retake Lohara. Mallārjuna left the castle and fled to Rājapurī from where he was ultimately caputred in 1135 A.D. Soon after, Koṣṭheśvara too was secured and sent to prison. Sujji, who had recaptured Lohara, did not also enjoy the king's favour for a long time. His growing discontentment led Jayasiṁha to kill him treacherously in A.D. 1133 together with his relatives and followers.

The next few years of Jayasiṁha's reign were peaceful. During this period, the king restored many temples and *maṭhas* which were ruined in course of civil war. Numerous pious foundations were also made by ministers and others. In foreign affairs, Kāśmīra seems to have maintained a friendly relation with other kingdoms at this time.

The death of Yaśodhara, the king of the Darads and the consequent troubles which followed in that country after his death, gave Jayasiṁha an opportunity to extend his influence in that region. But his efforts did not meet with any conspicuous success. On the other hand Viḍḍasīha, who had set himself as the ruler of the Darads strirred up a rising against the Kāśmīrian monarch. Encouraged by the Darads, Loṭhana appeared as a pretender of the throne in 1143 A.D. He was aided by the Ḍāmara lord Alaṁkāracakra, Bhoja, a son of Salhaṇa and Vigraharāja, a half brother of Jayasiṁha. But shortly, the rebels were surrounded in the castle of Śiraḥśilā by Jayasiṁha's army and Alaṁkāracakra had to surrender Loṭhana and Vigraharāja in the royal hands (1144 A.D.). Bhoja, however, soon managed to escape and appeared as a pretender for the throne. He obtained the help of the Darad ruler Viḍḍasīha and some Muslims of the upper Indus valley. Some powerful Ḍāmaras like Trillaka and Catuṣka further joined Bhoja. The invading army of Bhoja, led by Rājavadana, a discontented officer of Jayasiṁha, approached from the north, claiming the crown. About this time Pṛthvīhara, led another Ḍāmara army from the south. With great difficulty Jayasiṁha averted this danger. His commander Rilhaṇa defeated Loṭhaka in the south, while the strong stand taken by Ṣaṣṭhacandra on the north broke the morale of the combined Ḍāmara, Darad, *mleccha* and Turuṣka force who took to flight. But peace was not restored till 1145 A.D. when through the mediation of queen Kalhaṇikā Bhoja surrendred and the Ḍāmara rising collapsed. Jayasiṁha seems to have enjoyed the few remaining years which are dealt in Kalhaṇa's work i.e. from 1145 to 1149-50 A.D. in peace. During this period he crowned his eldest son Gulhaṇa as the ruler of Lohara. Kalhaṇa refers to the several pious foundations of this period made by the king. The king's example was followed by various religious foundations made by ministers and other members of the royal family. According to Jonarāja, Jayasiṁha lived upto 1154-55 A.D. During the last five years of his reign, he undertook a successful expedition against a Muslim ruler (Yavana Turuṣka), who, however, can not be identified.[58]

Jonarāja has furnished us with an outline of the political history of the remaining period of the Hindu rule which extended upto 1338 A.D. Paramānuka, the son of Jayasiṁha, succeeded his father on the throne. With the assistance of two officers Prayāga and Janaka, he filled up his royal treasury. Neither did he protect his subjects, nor did he undertake any expedition abroad. When he died in 1164-65 A.D. his son Vāntideva succeeded him (in the Calcutta edition the name is written as Vārttideva). Vantideva ruled for seven years.[59] With his death, the second Lohara dynasty came to its end.

The following king Vuppadeva (Vopyadeva according to the Calcutta edition) was elected by the citizens in the absence of a suitable heir. He was a stupid king and proved himself an idiot by adopting various foolish measures. After his death in *c.* 1180 A.D. his brother Jassaka wore the crown. He was a greater fool than his brother. At this time, taking advantage of the weakness of the royal authority, the Ḍāmara Lavanyas established themselves as real rulers of the land. King Jassaka was a mere tool in their hands. In fact Jassaka did not wish to have on him the weight of the kingdom but he was retained on the throne by the Lavanyas only because that gave them a golden opportunity to exploit the land as they liked. During Jassaka's reign, two Brāhmaṇa brothers Kṣukṣa and Bhīma by name assumed great powers and refrained from capturing the crown only due to their fear of the feudal lords. Jassaka ruled for 18 years and 10 days, that is, up to 1198 A.D. and the throne then passed to his son Jāgadeva[60]. Jāgadva was an enlightened despot, who tried to improve the bureaucracy. This naturally incited the wrath of the Kāyastha officers who succeeded in driving the king out of the valley. Jāgadeva regained his throne with the help of his faithful minister Guṇākara-rāhūla. Soon after, he was poisoned by Padma, the 'lord of the gate' and breathed his last after a regin of 14 years 6 months and 3 days i.e. some time about 1212-13 of the Christian era.[61]

Rājadeva, the son of Jāgadeva, fled to Kāṣṭhavāṭa after his father's death. But the enemies of Padma brought him back to the valley. A civil war followed, but when Rājadeva was beseiged in the fort of Salhaṇa, Padma suddenly died at the hands of a Caṇḍāla. Rājadeva was then anointed as the king of the valley by the Bhaṭṭas, who were probably the members of the Brāhmaṇa corporation. The royal authority, however, was seriously threatened by the Lavanyas. One of them, Balādhyacandra, lord of Lohara, occupied half of Śrīnagara and the king failed to subjugate him. Rājadeva seems to have died in 1235 A.D.[62]

The throne of Kāśmīra then passed to Rājadeva's son Saṁgrāmadeva. Saṁgrāma was a powerful prince. He was determined to crush the power of the feudal lords. But the treachery of his brother Sūrya who was also in the post of the *pratinidhi*, frustrated his attempts. When the evil intentions of Sūrya were disclosed before the monarch, Sūrya fled from Śrīnagara and raised a rebellion against the king with the help of Ḍāmara Candra of Lohara and Ḍāmara Tuṅga of Śamālā. In the encounter which followed, Tuṅga was defeated and Candra was caught and killed. During this civil war the sons and relatives of Brāhmaṇa Kalhaṇa whom the king began to fear as snakes had become very powerful. (It is not unlikely, that Kalhaṇa referred to here, is the same as the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*). Saṁgrāma was anxious to retain his kingdom, but all his attempts failed and he was obliged to retire to the shelter of the peaceful lord of Rājapurī. When the king was in Rājapurī, total anarchy was let loose in the kingdom and 'the Ḍāmaras began to suck the very life blood of the people '. For how many years such an anarchy continued, we do not know. But Saṁgrāma at last succeeded in defeating his enemies and regained his throne. He, however, did not kill the sons of Kalhaṇa because they were Brāhmaṇas and was in turn killed by them in about 1252 A.D. Śaka, a learned poet, is said to have composed a poem with Saṁgrāma as its hero, which was, like the necklace, an ornament of the learned. But the work has not survived.[63]

Rāmadeva, the son and successor of Saṁgrāma, executed the murderers of his father. He seems to have been an able administrator and appears to have governed the kingdom successfully with the help of Pṛthvīrāja. His queen Samudrā built a *maṭha* at Śrīnagara, on the banks of the Vitastā which was marked with her name, whereas the king repaired the Viṣṇu temple of Utpalapura. As the king had no issue, he adopted a Brāhmaṇa boy of Bhiṣyakapura as his son. Rāmadeva died in *c.* 1273 A.D.[64]

Lakṣmaṇadeva, the adopted son, who now became the king of the valley was a learned man, 'filled with the love of the six branches of learning'. But he lacked the vigour and courage of a Kṣatriya and was defeated and killed by a Turuṣka i.e. a Turk Muhammadan named Kajjala in *c.* 1286 A.D.[65]

A period of anarchy probably followed Lakṣmaṇa's death. Out of this chaotic conditions appear two figures, Saṁgrāmacandra, the lord of Lohara and Siṁhadeva whom Abul Fazal describes as the 'Chief of Labdar of Dakṣiṇapārā'.[66] Siṁhadeva declared himself king of Kāśmīra but so long as Saṁgrāma lived, his power was confined to the Ledari valley. It was only after the death of Saṁgrāmacandra, that Siṁhadeva was able to occupy the kingdom of Kāśmīra which at this time had shrunk to its former size.

The master of the valley, Siṁhadeva made a large number of religious foundations. The early years of his reign seem to have been comparatively successful but gradually under the influence of evil company, he became devoid of his belief in God. An intrigue with his nurse's daughter ultimately resulted in the loss of his life (*c.* 1301 A.D.).[67]

After Siṁhadeva's death, his brother Suhadeva became king. The new monarch was a powerful man, and with the help of a person named Kāmasuha established his authority over the whole of Kāśmīra. Even such distant regions as the borders of Pañcagahvara i.e. Panjgabbar situated on the east of Rājapurī, came under his rule.[68] In the year 1313 a Muslim adventurer called Sahamera migrated to Kāśmīra along with his family, probably from the Punjab side. The Muslim immigrant was admitted in the king's service. A brave soldier, he was probably of much service to the king in extending his authority throughout the length and breadth of Kāśmīra.[69] The king's son Babruvāhana founded a town called Garbhapura and for the time being the valley seems to have been prosperous.

The latter part of Suhadeva's reign, however, was disturbed by two foreign invasions. The first of these was led by Duluca whom Jonarāja describes as the *Camupati* of the *Cakravartī* Karmasena.[70] Stein seems to be correct in his assumption that Duluca entered Kāśmīra by the Jo-ji-la pass.[71] Among the soldiers of Duluca Jonarāja mentions Mleccha, Turuṣka and Tājika troops.[72] It is probable that Duluca was a Turk

Muhammadan. According to Abul Fazal Dalju i.e. Duluca was the chief commander of the king of Kāṇḍāhār. [73]

Duluca had a large army with him which numbered 60,000 according to Jonarāja. The king Suhadeva tried to satisfy Duluca by giving a subsidy and for this purpose imposed taxes on all castes. There were agitations against his cowardly conduct by some sections of the people and Brāhmaṇas protested against his policy by holding fast. None the less, the king collected money, and tried to buy the invader off. But his policy of appeasement failed, for Duluca accepted the money, but still ravaged the country. He followed a policy of plunder, arson, murder and loot of which there are few parallels in history. At last when the winter came, afraid of the excessive cold of Kāśmīra, he left it by a good military road carrying with him all able-bodied men as slaves. Whatever prosperity Kāśmīra had enjoyed during the early years of Suhadeva's reign, was destroyed by Duluca's invasion. ' Kāśmīra became almost like a region before the creation, a vast field with a few men, without food and full of grass '.[74]

The invasion of Duluca was followed by a second invasion led by Bhauṭṭa Riñcana. In all probability he entered Kāśmīra by the same route through which Duluca came i.e. by the Jo-ji-la pass. If Jonarāja is to be believed one Rāmacandra, a relative of king Suhadeva gave a stiff opposition to Riñcana's army, but he was ultimately treacherously killed by the latter at the fort of Lahara. After Rāmacandra's death, Riñcana seized the royal power and married his wife (or as some say his daughter) Koṭādevī.

Riñcana retained the Muslim adventurer Sahamera in his service and with his help gradually established his own authority over the whole length and breadth of the valley. By creating division among the Lavanyas, he succeeded in bringing these turbulent barons under his control. Abul Fazal says that through intimacy of association with Sahamera he accepted the religion of Islam. This is probably true as Jonarāja says that this Bhauṭṭa prince was willing to embrace Śaivism of the Hindus, but was refused of such favour as he happened to be an outcaste. Perhaps after this rejection by the Hindus, he embraced Islam.

The career of Riñcana abruptly came to a close in c. 1323 A.D. when, one day, he was suddenly attacked by several conspirators and ultimately succumbed to his injuries.[75]

In the royal genealogy of Ladakh, *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, the name of the fourteenth king appears as Riṇ-Cen.[76] He is generally placed by scholars between 1320 and 1350 A.D. Now Riñcana, the name of the invader of Kāśmīra, is nothing but a Sanskrit transcription of the Tibetan word Riṇ-Cen. Jonarāja distinctly mentions the invader as Bhoṭṭa i.e., Tibetan. His date falls between 1320-23 A.D. Hence it is extremely likely that the two names represent the one and the same person. It is true that Riṇ-Cen, as a king of Ladakh, does not agree with Jonarāja's description of him as a prince fleeing from his country as a result of his bloody vengeance on his father's murderers. Moreover, in Jonarāja's chronicle, there is no indication that Riñcana entered Kāśmīra from Ladakh rather than from Baltistān or Purig or Zansker or Guge. Under these circumstances, a reasonable theory would be that though Riñcana did not actually rule over Ladakh, the name was inserted by the compilers of the royal genealogy in order to glorify their own kings by showing that they ruled over Kāśmīra also. It is interesting to note in this connection that the very title *rGyal-bu* (king's son) which is attributed to Riṇ-Cen in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* is not suitable to a king, though it may fit perfectly a fugitive prince.

When Riñcana died, he left his son Haidara and queen Koṭādevī to the care of Sahamera. Sahamera did not crown the prince who was a minor, but invited and enthroned Udayanadeva, a descendant of the old Hindu dynasty who was living in distant Gandhāra.

The new king not only occupied the throne but also married Koṭādevī, the queen of Riñcana. He also had an heir by her. But Udayanadeva was a weak person. He kept himself engaged mostly in the performance of his religious duties and the queen Koṭādevī dominated him. Taking advantage of the impotence of the royal authority, the turbulent Lavanyas molested the kingdom time and again.

It seems that Sahamera, from his very entry into the valley, had an eye upon the throne. After Riñcana's death, he no doubt found an opportunity to capture the royal authority but probably did not consider himself powerful enough for the action. Now, when he found the royal authority weak, he followed a systematic policy for strengthening his position. By establishing matrimonial alliance with the lord of the gates and other nobles, he won them over. Many of the nobles were also brought to his side by wise distribution of subsidy while many were coerced into neutrality. He kept the king and the queen mum by threatening to raise Haidara on the throne.

In 1338 A.D. Udayana died. Queen Koṭādevī assumed the control of the kingdom and ascended the throne herself. She received the assistance of the Lavanyas and for the time being everything seemed to go in her favour.

But the triumph of Koṭādevī was temporary. Sahamera succeeded to oust and then to kill Bhaṭṭa Bhikṣana, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Koṭādevī. The queen was in a position to bring the murderer before her and to inflict punishment over him but the counsels of her own men, who undoubtedly had been bribed by Sahamera, dissuaded her from taking the action. The opportunity, thus allowed to slip away, never came again. Once, while the queen had been to Jayāpīḍapura, Sahamera seized the capital. Koṭādevī who was now besieged in the fort of Jayapura had to surrender on the explicit condition that she would share her bed and throne with Sahamera. After a day's married life she was imprisoned along with her two sons where they ultimately died and Sahamera ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Shamsud-din (1338 A.D.).[77]

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[1] Herodotus, 1, 152 and 177.

[2] Mc Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 69, 111-12.

[3] To avoid frequent references to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I have not referred to it altogether in the footnotes of the Chapter dealing with the political background. Where the source of information is not stated, it should be presumed to be Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

[4] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 150.

[5] *Mahāvaṃsa*, XII, 3.

[6] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 155.

[7] *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner), pp. 82, 83.

[8] Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 44.

[9] The story of Mihirakula's expedition against Ceylon is apparently baseless.

[10] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, pp. 167.

[11] *C. I. I.*, III (ed. Fleet), pp. 146, 147.

[12] Kalhaṇa's description of Mihirakula as a devotee of Śiva receives confirmation from the ruler's coins which contain in them theriomorphic representation of Śiva; *I. M. C.*, I, pl. XXV, 5.

[13] It is not clear which king Harṣa is referred to here. Harṣavardhana of Kanauj is not known to have held his sway, over Kāśmīra.

[14] Surāṣṭra is undoubtedly the ancient name of a portion of the Gujrat peninsula. But little reliance can be placed on the story of Pravarasena's conquest of the territory.

[15] According to Stein it was the title or family name of the rulers of some country or tribe; possibly this was the name of some tribe of Turkish origin such as the conquests of the Great and Little Yue-tchi as well as of the White Huns brought into the regions of the upper Indus and thus within the sphere of Kāśmīra politics; *R. T.* (Eng. tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 98.

[16] *J.A.* (1895), VI, pp. 341 sq.

[17] The initial date of the coin, apart from other considerations is suggested by the character of the scripts in the coin legend.

[18] For a detailed discussion on the point, see *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, pp. 152 sqq.

[19] Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 43.

[20] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), ii, p. 261.

[21] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, p. 108.

[22] An unique silver coin with the legend *Deva Śāhi Khiṅgila* may be attributed to him (Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pl. VII, 11). The type of this coin is unmistakably that of an Ephthalite ruler.

[23] Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 97, 111 and pl. VII, 12. For a detailed discussion on various types of alleged Kāśmīrian Hun coins see Stein, *R. T.* (Eng. tr.), III, 383, foot notes.

[24] Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India.*, p. 43.

[25] A Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, i, p. 212.

[26] Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l' Asie*, ii, pp. 275 sq.

[27] A Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, i, pp. 196 sq.

[28] The Śrī Pratāpa types of Kāśmīrian coins have been recovered from the village of Bhitaware, Dt. Fyzabad, from Banda District, U.P., from Rājghat and Sārnath, in the confines of Banaras, from Monghyr district and from the ancient University site of Nālandā, Dt. Patna; *J.*R.*A.S.*, 1906, p. 843; *J.A.S.B.*, *N.S.*, 1928, p. 6-9; *J.N.S.I.*, X part I, pp. 30-32; *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.* (Eastern Circle), 1919-20, p. 48.

[29] *R.T.*, IV, 134. For different interpretations of the passage see Cunningham, *C.M.I.*, p. 40; Stein, *R.T.* (Eng. tr.), foot notes on Book IV, verse 134; Prayagdayal, Treasure Trove find of 16, 448 electron coins in Banda District of the United Provines, *J.A.S.B.*, *N.S.*, XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9.

[30] *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 178.

[31] Stein, *Notes on Ou-kong*, pp. 19 sq.

[32] D. R. Sahni, Pre Muhammadan Monuments of Kashmir, *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915-16, pp. 59, 61.

[33] A Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, i, pp. 196 sq.

[34] See ref. no. 15. The identification of Mummuni with the title of the K͟halīfs, Amīr-ul-Mūmenīm is suggested by Levi (*J.A.*, 1895, p. 351) based on a glossator's version that Mummuni means Mumen Khan. But as Stein points out this glossator is quite modern and is wholly unreliable; *R.T.* (Eng. tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 137.

[35] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, pp. 175 sq.

[36] Stein, Archaeological Notes from the Hindukush Region, *J.R.A.S.*, 1944, pp. 5 sqq.

[37] Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan* (tr. Hitti and Murgotten), ii, pp. 230-31.

[38] A. S. Altekar, The Atrribution of Śrī-ja-Pratāpa Coins, *J.N.S.I.*, X, part I (1948), pp. 34 sqq.

[39] A Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, i, pp. 196 sq.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Tsu Chi, *A Short History of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 144.

[42] *J.A.S.B.*, 1913, pp. 197-204.

[43] N. N. Das Gupta, On the date of Lalitāditya Muktāpīda, *Indian Culture*, XIV, 1947, pp. 11-19.

[44] *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 13.

[45] S. C. Ray, The identity of the Yaśovarman of some mediaeval coins, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1951, pp. 1-3.

[46] *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 13.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] Cunningham, *C.M.I.*, pl. IV, 11.

[49] For a connected account of Sultan Mahmud's raids see H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 84 sq.

[50] Bālnāth hills apparently indicate Salt Range. See *Babur-nāma* (Eng. tr. A. S. Beveridge), Vol. II, p. 452. Babur places the hills at a distance of 5 marches from the Indus.

[51] *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* (tr. B. Dey), Bibliotheca India, p. 8.

[52] *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (tr. Briggs), I, pp. 54, 55.

[53] *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* (tr. B. Dey), p. 9.

[54] *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (tr. Briggs), I, p. 65; *Tabaquat-i-Akbari* (tr. B. Dey), p. 13.

[55] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (ed. Buhler), XVIII, 33 sq.

[56] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 35-38.

[57] H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, p. 165.

[58] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 26, 27.

[59] *Ibid.*, 49.

[60] *Ibid.*, 59-67.

[61] *Ibid.*, 68-78.

[62] *Ibid.*, 79-91.

[63] *Ibid.*, 92-108.

[64] *Ibid.*, 109-117.

[65] *Ibid.*, 118-122.

[66] *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr. Jarret, first ed.), p. 378.

[67] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 123-37.

[68] *Ibid.*, 138-142.

[69] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 143-146.

[70] *Ibid.*, 141.

[71] Stein, *R. T.* (Eng. tr.), II, p. 408.

[72] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 170.

[73] *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr. Jarret, 2nd. ed.), p. 381.

[74] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 152-155.

[75] *Ibid.*, 155 sq.

[76] L. Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, pp. 112, 113.

[77] *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Peterson), 255-352.

CHAPTER III

SOCIETY

CASTE SYSTEM

There are few sources which throw any considerable light on the type and character of the caste system, as it was in vogue in ancient Kāśmīra. Early works like the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, the *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, and several of the works of the poet Kṣemendra mention the Brāhmaṇas distinctly as the uppermost caste of the valley, but they do not say much about the other existing social orders. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, however, testifies to the existence of several low castes among the population, besides the Brāhmaṇas. These were the Niṣādas, the Kirātas, the Kaivartas, the Ḍombas, the Śvapākas and the Caṇḍālas. It may be argued that the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, written much later on (i.e., in the 12th century A.D.) while relating the history of the former ages, depicts more or less the social picture of the contemporary time. But since the formation of a particular caste generally takes a long time, it may be presumed that the various types of castes mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, existed in Kāśmīra from a much earlier period.

The Brāhmaṇas were definitely the more privileged and honoured caste in the country. The origin of the Brāhmaṇism in the valley of Kāśmīra is unknown, but there is clear evidence to show that many of the noted Brāhmaṇa inhabitants of the valley were descendants of the Brāhmaṇas of other parts of India.[1] Probably, there had been several large scale immigrations of the Brāhmaṇas from the plains of India into the valley of Kāśmīra from a remote period.[2] The descendants of these immigrants seem to have composed the bulk of the Brāhmaṇa population of Kāśmīra.

The occupations adopted by the Brāhmaṇas were varied; some of them were ministers and councillors of the State. Thus the Brāhmaṇa Mitraśarman was the *sāṁdhivigrahika* of king Lalitāditya.[3] Jayāpīḍa's minister was Devaśarman and his chief councillor was Dāmodaragupta.[4] Bhaṭṭa Phalguṇa was the minister of king Kṣemagupta and queen Diddā[5] and so on. The military career also was open to the Brāhmaṇas. Bhujaṅga,[6] the son of a Brāhmaṇa *sāmanta* fought with Saṁgrāmarāja.

Kalhaṇa's father Caṇpaka was the *dvārapati* of Harṣa.[7] Ajjaka, a Brāhmaṇa minister of Salhaṇa died in the battlefield while fighting against Sussala.[8] Kalyāṇarāja was a Brāhmaṇa soldier well versed in military exercises.[9] But though many Brāhmaṇas adopted political and military vocations, the majority of them appears to have earned their livelihood by performing religious rites, by serving as priests, and by teaching the sacred texts. Besides the sacrificial fees, donations were frequently made to the Brāhmaṇas.[10] The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* prescribes gifts to Brāhmaṇas on almost every religious ceremony and considers such gifts to acquire religious merit for the donor. Kalhaṇa often mentions that *agrahāras* were donated by the king to the Brāhmaṇas.[11] The priests of the temples had other sources of income. They enjoyed the revenue of the villages which belonged to the temples.[12] Sometimes they sold flowers, incense, etc., to persons going to the temples for worship (*R.T.*, V, 168). Kṣemendra furnishes us with the interesting information that at times sweets, etc., which were offered to the god of the temple were resold to the public by the priests.[13]

Among other castes, Niṣādas appear to be the aboriginal tribes of Kāśmīra. They occupied a very low position in the social life of the community. In Sanskrit, the term Niṣāda is generally applied to indicate persons who earn their livelihood by hunting and fishing. A passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* points out that the term included also the boatmen of the valley.[14]

The Kirātas, another low caste, according to Kalhaṇa, lived in the forest and destroyed wild animals by raising jungle-fires and constructing traps.[15] Their livelihood seems to have been very much similar to that of the Niṣādas, as referred to in ancient literature. But the relation between the Niṣādas of Kāśmīra and the Kirātas of that country is unknown. Racially, the Kirātas mentioned in Sanskrit literature belonged to the Tibeto-Burman group. Perhaps the Kirātas of Kāśmīra were neighbouring hill tribes of the Tibetan regions who were looked upon with much contempt in the society. Hiuen Tsang refers to a class of low-born people named *Ki-lo-to* who lived in Kāśmīra from a very early time and were opposed to the Bauddhas.[16] Scholars have failed to identify the *Ki-lo-to* people.[17] Phonetically the Chinese *Ki-lo-to* may be transcribed into Sanskrit as Kirāta. The Kirātas mentioned by Kalhaṇa may be identical with the *Ki-lo-to* people referred to by the Chinese pilgrim.

The Ḍombas have been frequently mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a caste of menials. Sometimes they are associated with

Caṇḍālas.[18] What exactly was their profession, we do not know. In one passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* they are described as huntsmen.[19] Kalhaṇa makes mention of Ḍomba singers and from the stories recorded by him it seems that the Ḍombas were generally good musicians and earned their livelihood by singing and dancing.[20] Alberuni, while speaking of the contemporary castes of northern India, mentions the Ḍombas who were lute-players and singers.[21] Had they any connection with the Ḍombas of Kāśmīra? The Ḍombas have been sometimes mentioned by Kalhaṇa also as Śvapākas[22] which literally means 'dog-cooker'. It is interesting to note that in the 11th century A.D., Alberuni saw among the low castes of northern India a particular community called Badhatou who actually ate the flesh of dogs.[23] The Ḍombas were invariably hated as a despised low caste in Kāśmīra and were treated with much contempt.

Another low caste of the valley were the Caṇḍālas. They seem to have been fierce and cruel fighters. Some of the Caṇḍālas served as royal body-guards or as watchmen.[24] Probably some were also freely engaged in the king's army, though we are not absolutely certain on the point.[25] Kalhaṇa says that on several occasions the Caṇḍālas were engaged as agents by selfish conspirators for assasinating their political rivals.[26] According to Alberuni, the Caṇḍālas of north India practised as a trade, killing of persons when they were sentenced to death by the judicial authority[27] and this goes to support the statement made by Kalhaṇa regarding the nature of livelihood pursued by the Caṇḍālas. Both Alberuni and Kalhaṇa point out that the Caṇḍālas were universally hated.[28]

Though the conception of the population as consisting of four traditional castes was not altogether unknown[29], there was no such caste as Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra in early Kāśmīra. In other parts of India there were various intermediary castes between the Brāhmaṇas on the one hand and the lower castes on the other. Curiously enough, so far as we can ascertain, such intermediate castes did never exist in the valley.

CLASSES OF PEOPLE

The people of ancient Kāśmīra, as we have already seen, were divided into several castes mainly based upon racial and religious factors. From the socio-economic standpoint, they could be also grouped into various classes, according to the professions adopted by them.

SOCIETY

The economic structure of the ancient Kāśmīrian society was undoubtedly built upon the principle of private ownership of wealth. But the persons who were responsible for the production of wealth were not alone to enjoy it, there were people who shared it more or less and this depended upon the system of the distribution of wealth. The three principal methods of production were agriculture, industry and trade. But though the tillers of the soil produced crops, the duty of proper distribution rested upon the royal authority or feudal aristocrats, who were owners of the lands, whereas the industry and the trade were in the hands of the merchants. Of course, the State had always a hand in the system of the distribution of wealth, but in ancient Kāśmīra, the State's interference in private enterprise or property was very little.

Naturally, based on the three principal methods of production, three distinct classes of people with several subdivisions of their own evolved. But there were other classes who neither took any direct part in the production of wealth nor did anything towards its distribution, but who served the society in such various occupational capacities as the military, the clerical, the cultural, the menial, etc. It should not be presumed that all these classes with their subdivisions emerged at the same time; their growth must have been gradual and complex with the rapid expansion of the race.

Our knowledge regarding the occupational classes who comprised the society of early Kāśmīra is indeed very meagre; there is not a single source which may be utilized for tracing their history to a period prior to the 7th century A.D., a date from which, thanks to Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa, the account of at least the principal classes of people, can be followed with tolerable accuracy.

Connected with land, was the class of people called Ḍāmara, who, as noted in the chapter on political history, played an important role in the history of early Kāśmīra. The exact meaning of the term Ḍāmara is not known. Kṣemendra, Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja and Śrīvara no doubt frequently refer to the term but never try to explain its meaning. Wilson opined that the Ḍāmaras were a fierce tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kāśmīra[30], whereas in St. Petersburg dictionary,[31] their original etymological meaning was given as 'riotous, rebel'. The term, as used in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, shows, that the Ḍāmaras were not necessarily a tribe inhabiting the mountains north of Kāśmīra, neither were they always riotous. In fact, they appear to be territorial lords or feudal landowners.

Kalhaṇa's first reference to the Ḍāmaras occurs in the fourth book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where among the curious political maxims set forth by Lalitāditya, it is said that his successors should not leave with the cultivators of the land more than what is necessary for their bare sustenance and the tillage of their fields. Because, 'if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras, and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king'.[32] It is quite clear from this passage that agriculturist villagers, after the acquisition of considerable lands, were transformed into powerful Ḍāmaras.

In spite of Lalitāditya's warning, the growth and development of rural economy and the weakness of the royal authority gradually led to the rise of the Ḍāmaras, who became a very powerful element in the State. During the reign of Avantivarman, one of these Ḍāmaras, Dhanva, is said to have usurped the villages endowed to the temple of Bhūteśvara. This man, who owed his predominance to the patronage of the minister Śūra, flatly neglected his summons. At last, when he appeared before the minister, he 'made the earth shake with the tramp of his host of foot soldiers and did not bend his back'.[33]

About the middle of the 10th century A.D., the Ḍāmaras became so powerful that they began to interfere in questions of royal succession. King Cakravarman, when driven away by the Tantrins, took shelter in the house of Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma and with the help of Saṁgrāma and other Ḍāmaras succeeded in recovering his throne. But afterwards, when Cakravarman alienated the Ḍāmaras, he was ultimately murdered by these turbulant feudal chiefs.[34]

In the latter part of the fifth book as well as in the sixth book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the mention of the Ḍāmaras is comparatively few. But at the same time Kalhaṇa testifies that kings and queens like Unmattāvanti and Diddā had to take recourse to coercive measures for suppressing the Ḍāmaras[35] which clearly proves the increasing influence of the Ḍāmaras in those periods.

With the accession of the Lohara house, the Ḍāmaras appear in their fullest power. From now onwards, they interfered in all important political affairs of the State. A king could remain upon the throne if the Ḍāmaras so wished. The aspirants to the throne were eager to have their support, whereas the monarch in power had to keep them always engaged lest they should grow more powerful. In the internecine conflict between king Ananta and his son Kalaśa and between Utkarṣa and Harṣa, the Dāmaras took the side of one or the other and the final issue of the conflict depended mostly on their support.[36] Ananta, Kalaśa and Harṣa, particularly the last named monarch, tried their utmost to curb the powers of these feudal barons by sending armies against them as well as by other stratagems.[37] But every attempt failed. In fact, the measures adopted by Harṣa, instead of diminishing the powers of the Ḍāmaras, further alienated them. It was with the help of the Ḍāmaras, that Uccala and Sussala drove out Harṣa and occupied the throne of Kāśmīra.

By the 12th century A.D., the Ḍāmaras had become very powerful. They had enormous wealth, a large army, and strongholds in many important places of the valley.[38] In fact they had 'usurped all power in the land except in the immediate vicinity of the capital and the places occupied by the royal troops'. One of the Ḍāmara chieftains, Gargacandra became a king-maker in the true sense of the term. In the conflict between the pretender Bhikṣācara on the one hand and Sussala and Jayasiṁha on the other, that party alone could expect a victory which had powerful Ḍāmaras at its back. 'The fortified residences of the Ḍāmaras frequently mentioned by the term *upaveśana*, were, like the castles of mediaeval feudal lords, centres of territorial divisions in which, though they may have often comprised not more than a couple of villages, the king's authority could assert itself only by armed force at times of unrest. This condition of things continued for centuries after Kalhaṇa's time, far into the Muhammadan period, and its recollection still lingers in the tradition of the agricultural population of Kāśmīra'.[39]

With the increase of wealth and political power, the Ḍāmaras obtained a higher status in the society. Though Kalhaṇa looks upon them with contempt as 'robbers—resembling goblins' or 'more like cultivators though they carry arms', the marriage of the Ḍāmara girls with members of the royal family or of Rajput princesses with Ḍāmara chiefs[40] clearly indicate their elevated social position. In Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā*, a Ḍāmara named Samarasiṁha appears as a wealthy, respectable and cultured citizen.[41]

The system of succession among the Ḍāmaras seems to have been hereditary. When a feudal lord died, his landed estates passed to his heir.[42] But apart from direct inheritance, the status of a Ḍāmara could also be achieved with the acquisition of lands and riches by other methods. A person named Jayyaka, the son of a householder, who had amassed fortune from revenue of land and selling victuals to far off regions, is said to have raised himself gradually, to the position of Ḍāmara (*Kramāḍ ḍāmaratām agāt*).[43]

The relation of a Ḍāmara with the king on the one hand and cultivating tenants on the other, cannot be traced clearly from the context of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Some of the Ḍāmaras are said to have obtained revenue from their land, apparently from their tenants.[44] But land revenue, though it was the principal one, was not the only source of their income. There were enterprising Ḍāmaras who accumulated wealth by trade and commerce.[45].

The Ḍāmaras did not belong to any particular tribe. Some of the Ḍāmaras have been called Lavanyas[46] and from this some scholars have presumed that all the Ḍāmaras belonged to a tribe living on the mountain north of Kāśmīra.[47] But the Ḍāmaras were distributed all over Kāśmīra, mostly on the fertile areas like Nīlāśva, Holaḍā, Śamālā etc.[48] and not on the mountains north of Kāśmīra only. Moreover, in the first six books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the term Lavanya has never been applied to any Ḍāmara. It is thus evident that the two terms Lavanya and Ḍāmara are not synonymous, though it is seen that a large section of the Lavanya people attained the position of Ḍāmara during the reign of Harṣa and afterwards. The origin of Lavanya tribe cannot be traced. Did they come originally from Lavaṇa *parvata*, contiguous to the valley and ultimately settled in Kāśmīra?

The word Ḍāmara is not found in the first three books of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The term occurs for the first time in the fourth book and not very frequently upto the sixth book. But it is abundantly employed in books seven and eight. Whether the Ḍāmaras originated in the reign of Lalitāditya or existed even in an earlier period, cannot be answered satisfactorily, so far as our information goes at present. But the paucity of the term Ḍāmara in the earlier books and its very frequent presence in the later sections of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, most probably indicate that the class of feudal barons called Ḍāmaras came into existence not much earlier than the 8th century A.D. Their power and influence, which gradually increased, were not very great up to the 10th century A.D. But later on they became a very powerful class of nobility, a potent factor, always to be reckoned with.

What led to the rise and growth of the Ḍāmaras? It is sometimes said that the weakness of the royal authority and the constant wars of succession between the rival claimants to the throne were generally responsible for the rise and growth of these unruly people.[49] No doubt, the internecine conflicts for succession to the throne offered a golden opportunity to the Ḍāmaras to increase and exert their power. But that alone cannot explain their spectacular rise. Powerful rulers like Avantivarman and Diddā tried to suppress this unruly element in their kingdom when it had not yet gathered considerable strength. Others after them, like Ananta, Kalaśa and Harṣa employed full energy to root out these turbulent barons, but none met with success. Not that the royal authority was weak, but the economic structure of the society supported the existence of the Ḍāmara class and gave a strong impetus to their growth. Kāśmīra was a commercial centre during the reign of the Kuṣāṇas. When the overland trade routes had been opened through Central Asia, she probably served as an important trade emporium. But the commercial activities of the valley ebbed with the fall of the Kuṣāṇas and the rise of the Hūṇas ultimately closed the overland trade routes. Being a landlocked territory, henceforth Kāśmīra had to engage her whole attention solely on agriculture. This greater importance attached to agriculture coupled with the existence of a particular land tenure system, in which the cultivator was a tenant to his feudal lords, seems to have served as the basis of an economic system in which the rise of a landed aristocracy was inevitable. Whatever little trade was carried on with the western neighbours after the Hūṇa invasion had subsided, again came to an end with the rise of the Islam. Both Ou-kong and Alberuni testify to the closing of some of the existing trade routes.[50] With trade and commerce further curtailed, land became the principal source for wealth. Increase of the population and scarcity of culturable lands in the valley brought more and more pressure upon the existing agricultural lands. As there was increase in the population, and consequently less chance of their absorption in trade and commerce, the surplus people had to be employed in the cultivation of the soil. Land was thus sure to yield high revenue and those, who did own them, became ultimately wealthy formidable Ḍāmaras.

Agriculture was adopted as the principal means of livelihood by the bulk of the Kāśmīrī people. Unfortunately, nothing is known regarding the exact condition of this cultivating class. Did they own lands? If they had no land, did they cultivate the lands of their feudal overlords. And if they did, what remuneration did the cultivator receive in exchange of his labour? Besides the cultivable lands under the Ḍāmaras, there were other agricultural fields in the country, the revenue from which was collected by the royal officers, the Kāyasthas. What was again the relation between the roal authority and these cultivating people?

Most of these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered. Some sections of the cultivating class were probably tenants of the Ḍāmaras. Kalhaṇa says that some of the Ḍāmaras amassed huge fortune from the revenue of their lands.[51] This could not have been possible unless they had leased out their lands to tenants. Possibly there were also agricultural labourers other than the tenants, who worked in the estates of the Ḍāmaras in some sort of wage system. Generally, all lands of Kāśmīra, except those held by the Ḍāmaras and those donated by the king to some person or organization, were king's property. The cultivators who tilled these fields, had certain share of the harvest. But the major portion of the produced crops was taken by the king as tax and revenue.[52]

The agriculturists or cultivators were most hard pressed of all sections of the people. Though they produced the bulk of the national wealth, they had little share in the produce. They were constantly exploited by the Ḍāmaras on the one hand and the Kāyastha officers of the king on the other. Kṣemendra vividly describes how the Kāyasthas made fortunes during autumn when the harvest was reaped from the field and when the cultivators had to pay periodical taxes to the king.[53] He is also eloquent on the unfair means adopted by the Kāyasthas for filling up their personal purses and compares them to fish catchers who came to devour rustic fishes.[54] Some of the kings were so oppressive that they took the whole harvest of the field, including the cultivator's share for three consecutive years.[55] While the courtiers ate fried meat and drank delightful light wine, scented with flowers and deliciously cooled, the cultivators of the villages had to take rice or dry barley in husks, and a wild growing vegetable of bitter taste called *utpalaśāka*.[56] The oppression of the landholders and bureaucracy reduced the agriculturists to such straits that they had scarcely anything left as the price of their hard toil. Kalhaṇa frankly confesses that these oppressions exasperated them so much that whenever there were internal conflicts in the country, they left their peaceful pursuit and took up the sword eager for rebellion.[57]

Although agriculture formed the principal feature of Kāśmīra's economy, a number of crafts and industries had developed at an early period. The different classes of people engaged in various industries included weavers, jewellers, blacksmiths, sculptors, potters, leather-tanners etc. (for an account of these industrial classes, see *infra*, pp. 107-09). Regarding the nature and organization of industrial labour nothing is known. Unlike some other provinces of eastern India, the workers in various industries of ancient Kāśmīra do not seem to have had corporate guilds of their own.

The antiquity of Kāśmīra's foreign trade goes down as early as the Kuṣāṇa period, though it is quite possible that it started even in an earlier period. A prosperous trade would naturally give rise to a wealthy merchant class. About the early history of this class, prior to the 7th century A.D., no information is forthcoming. In about the middle of the 7th century A.D., however, if Kalhaṇa is to be believed, the valley was full of merchants.[58] Some of them were extremely rich and owned palaces which far excelled the royal palace in comforts and decorations.[59] The Śreṣṭhis and Vaṇikas also appear as rich and luxurious people in Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*.[60] The ascendency of the merchants, in the period ranging from the 7th century A.D. to the 9th century A.D., is perhaps not without significance. It was a period when Kāśmīra had conquered her surrounding hilly states and had carried her arms far into the plains of northern India and perhaps also in the Central Asian regions. These conquests might have created fresh markets for Kāśmīrian goods in far off regions and seems to have strengthened her commercial ties with contemporary powers. This was proably reflected in the increasing wealth and luxury of the merchant class of the time.

From the foregoing statement, it should not, however, be surmised that after the 9th century A.D. the merchants as a class were extinct in the society or even that they were reduced to insignificance. There are reasons to believe that with the decrease of commercial activities from the 10th century onwards, the importance of the merchants as the most wealthy and naturally the most powerful element of the State started to diminish. From the 10th century A.D. onwards, the merchants are generally mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as not carrying on trade and commerce with distant territories but mainly engaged in monetary transactions. And in these monetary transactions, the merchants made themselves notorious by adopting dishonest method. Such remarks of Kalhaṇa as ' the merchants are deceitful by nature ', ' a merchant in a law suit relating to the embezzlement of a deposit is more to be dreaded than a tiger', 'the merchants who have embezzled deposits show themselves ever eager to listen to the recital of sacred texts '—bespeak the greed and hypocrisy of the merchant class of this period.[61]

The dishonesty that had grown rampant among the merchants of this period was perhaps not without reason. Trade and commerce had almost stopped. The sphere of income had consequently narrowed down. Banking had come to be the only means with the help of which the merchant could make some money. But a clean banking business could never be so profitable as trade and commerce. Hence came the adoption of fraud and dishonesty and deceitful measures, the easy way of money-making. Kalhaṇa's Chronicle testifies that from the end of the 9th century, the Ḍāmaras had begun to take a predominating position in the society. That the Ḍāmaras had also ousted the merchant class from the field of trade and commerce becomes evident when we find that some of the Ḍāmaras had engaged themselves in trade and were amassing fortunes by selling victuals to far off regions.[62]

Besides the persons who were engaged in agriculture, industry and trade and were thus directly connected with the production of wealth, there were other classes, who served the society in various useful ways. Among these were included the teachers[63], astrologers[64], physicians[65], priests[66], barbers[67], artisans[68], carters[69], workers of water wheels, hand mills etc.[70], labourers[71], fishermen[72], herdsmen of cows and buffaloes[73], soldiers and many others who followed such professions. Detailed evidence is not forthcoming regarding the position and organization of these different classes. It may, however, be presumed that even in each of these occupational classes, there were divisions, subdivisions and gradations, according to wealth, learning and status of each in the society.

In addition to the various classes mentioned above there was yet another important class, the officers in the king's service. With their help the king carried on the State machinery and gave effect to his administrative policy. There were different gradations among the officials also.

Roughly speaking the officers could be subdivided into two principal classes,

(a) the nobility, and

(b) the bureaucracy.

The nobility consisted of the highest administrative and military officers of the State such as *sarvādhikāra* or prime minister, *sachiva* or minister, *maṇḍaleśa* or governor, *kampaneśa* or commander-in-chief. The Śāhis and other princes of the adjoining hill-states sometimes served under the king of Kāśmīra and they too were included in the nobility. Besides the highest officials, poets and litterateurs of high repute who flourished in the king's court and received huge salaries[74] seem to have belonged to this upper class. Most of the members of the nobility, as big officers of the State, used to draw large salaries. Some of them also owned estates.

The term Kāyastha has been used by the early writers of Kāśmīra as a general name applicable to all the members of the bureaucracy. The Kāyasthas included such specific officers as *gṛhakṛtyādhipati* or *gṛhakṛtyamahattama* or simply *mahattama*, *paripālaka*, *mārgeśa* or *mārgapati*, *gañjādhipa*, *nagarādhipa*, *śaulkika*, *niyogi*, *adhikaraṇalekhaka*, *aśvaghāsakāyastha*, *grāmakāyastha* and *diviras* of *nagara*, *grāma*, *gañja* etc., in fact all sorts of officials from the highest administrative to the lowest clerical, whose principal duty, besides carrying on the general administration of the State, consisted in the collection of revenue and taxes.

The term Kāyastha in ancient Kāśmīra did not denote any particular caste. It was purely a term applied to the officials in the king's service. This is evident from Kalhaṇa's assertion that the Brāhmaṇas were Kāyasthas.[75] The career of Kāyastha seems to have been thrown open to all the members of the State. Even persons holding other hereditary occupations, sometimes lowly ones like that of *ārāmika* (gardener) could enter into the rank of the Kāyastha.[76] A Kāyastha holding a lower office could be promoted into a higher rank. Kṣemendra says that it was the ambition of every Kāyastha to become the *gṛhakṛtyamahattama*, the highest office that could be held by a Kāyastha.[77]

The Kāyasthas received their salary from the royal treasury. Probably they were used to get monthly payments.[78] There are reasons to believe that besides the usual salary which they received for their service to the State, they usurped parts of the revenue which were collected by them for deposit in the royal treasury. Thus, while describing the condition of the valley under Jayāpīḍa's reign, Kalhaṇa says that the Kāyasthas carried off all property of the subjects, delivering to the king only the smallest fraction of what they realized.[79] Kṣemendra also speaks in the same strain.[80]

Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa are eloquent about the Kāyastha's greed for money, inhuman exactive measures and dishonest habits. Comparing them with the officials of other contemporary kingdoms, one cannot but feel surprised why the officials of ancient Kāśmīra were so oppressive and were so eager for amassing private wealth. But the reasons perhaps are not far to seek. The government in early Kāśmīra was generally unstable. There were frequent wars of succession. The change of a ruler inevitably brought a change in the home policy of the government. Favourites of the new king were posted in the highest offices of the State and there were thorough overhaulings of the different administrative departments. Many Kāyasthas were dismissed from their jobs, whereas new favourites were appointed in their places. This instability of their position, forced the Kāyasthas to adopt means by which they could amass sufficient private wealth within the span of their tenure of office, so that they could be secure for the rest of their life on dismissal.

There is no mention of the Kāyasthas in the first three books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. They appear as a distinct class for the first time, in the fourth book. As time passes by, the power and prestige of the Kāyasthas increase and from the fourth book onwards, in each book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we meet with new designations of the Kāyastha officers. The *Narmamālā* of Kṣemendra, written during Ananta's reign, contains a very detailed account of the Kāyasthas and mentions a large number of posts which were held by them. The gradual growing number of the Kāyasthas, in course of time, as evidenced from Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa, clearly show the increasing interference of the State in private landed properties. In the earlier times, when there were plenty of lands and considerably less population, the State did not find it necessary to exercise so much control over the lands, as lands would not have yielded much revenue at that time. But the swelling population, in course of time, brought a greater pressure upon the land. All cultivable lands had been distributed among the people and these were more and more intensively cultivated. Naturally, they were to yield more revenue to the king than in former times. Hence the kings appointed greater number of officers for supervision of these landed properties and for collecting revenue and taxes. Moreover, after the fall of the Karkoṭas, the trade and commerce with foreign countries practically came to a close. So the State had to depend for its income principally on the revenue of the land. So closer supervision of landed estate was required and measures were adopted for exacting as much revenue from them as possible. That also accounts for the increased number of Kāyasthas.

Among the different types of officers who comprised the Kāyastha class, except the *śaulkika*, we have not met with a single name, who had anything to do with the trade and commerce of the valley. Nearly all other officials were engaged in collecting revenue for supervising the revenue administration. This also tends to show the growing importance of the land in the econmic life of the post-Karkoṭa period.

POSITION OF WOMEN

Regarding the position of women in early Kāśmīra, we learn that the first part of a woman's life was spent in her father's house when liberal education was imparted to her. The curriculum of studies in the 9th century A.D. included the sexual sciences of Vātsyāyana, Dattaka, Viṭaputra and Rājaputra, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, Viśākhila's treatise on art, Dantila's work on music, *vṛkṣāyurveda*, painting, needlework, woodwork, metal work, clay modelling, cookery, and practical training in instrumental music, singing, and dancing.[81] Bilhaṇa extols the women of Kāśmīra for their learning which allowed them to speak fluently both Sanskrit and Prākṛt.[82] Perhaps the ladies of the royal family were given a bit of administrative training. The great success with which Kāśmīrian queens like Sugandhā and Diddā governed their dominions, naturally presupposes that they were put in the way to efficiency by some previous instruction and practice. Women, in early Kāśmīra, played a leading role in the political activities of the State of which we have many examples in the pages of Kalhaṇa.[83]

Regarding the proper age of marriage of a woman, no positive evidence is forthcoming. A perusal of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* generally leaves the impression that pre-puberty marriage probably was not in vogue in ancient Kāśmīra. A story related by Kṣemendra in the *Deśopadeśa* may indicate that girls were married at a mature age.[84]

The family life, at least of the rich, was polygamous. The kings had seraglio full of queens and concubines and their example was followed by the aristocrats. Polyandry was quite unknown except perhaps among some aboriginal hill-tribes. (Polyandry, to some extent is current among some of the aboriginal tribes of the neighbouring regions of Kāśmīra and it may be presumed that it was so, even in earlier days). The widow was expected to live a pure life, devoid of all luxury. The use of ornament or gorgous dress was forbidden to her.[85]

The custom of burning of *satī* was in vogue in Kāśmīra from an early time. In the stories of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which was composed in the valley in *c.* 11th century A.D., the custom appears to be quite common. About the historical cases of widows burning themselves at the death of their husbands, we have a number of instances in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. After the death of their husband Śaṁkaravarman, Surendravatī and two other queens cremated themselves along with him.[86] When Yaśaskara died, his wife Trailokyadevī followed her husband into the funeral pyre.[87] Śāhi princess Bimbā, after the death of the son of Tuṅga, who happened to be her husband, entered the fire as a *satī*.[88] Queen Suryamatī burnt herself in company with her dead husband Ananta.[89] Mammanikā and six other queens accompanied king Kalaśa into death.[90] So did Kumudalekhā for her Malla.[91] When the body of the deceased was available, the widow burnt herself along with dead husband; when it was not available, she ascended a separate pyre. Thus Jayamatī burnt herself separately a few days after Uccala's body was cremated.[92] The system of *satī* was not confined to the royal family alone. Mallā, the wife of Bhogasena, the Chief-justice of Uccala, followed her husband to death.[93] Kalhaṇa testifies that the wife of Ḍāmara Koṣṭhaka entered fire at the news of her husband's imprisonment and thus became a *satī*.[94] Sometimes, courtesans accompanied their masters into fire. Jayamatī, a harlot of king Kalaśa[95] and Sahajā, a concubine of king Utkarṣa[96], entered the pyre of their masters. The custom of *satī* was so deeprooted in the valley, that even mothers and sisters and other near relatives burnt themselves along with their beloved deceased. Gajjā cremated herself with her son Ānanda[97], Vallabhā with her brother-in-law Malla[98] and the sister of Dilhabhaṭṭāraka with her brother.[99]

Literary evidence amply testify to the gross immorality and laxity of character prevailing among certain classes of women of ancient Kāśmīra. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* delineates in niceties of details the sensual excesses of the ladies of the palace and the court. The generally low standard of morality among certain classes of women of Kāśmīra has been described by Kṣemendra in his *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā*. Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* and Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā* and *Deśopadeśa* point out that prostitution was popular in the society. It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the immoral atmosphere of early Kāśmīra as depicted in these works. But the low standard of morality prevailing among certain classes gave rise to and fostered the growth of certain evil practices in the society. One of these, the institution of *devadāsī*, deserves attention.

The custom of dedicating girls to the temples for singing and dancing before the gods seems to have been a very early practice in India. It existed in Kāśmīra from a very early period. Kalhaṇa mentions that king Jalauka gave hundred ladies of his seraglio who were well versed in dancing and singing to serve in the temple of Jyeṣṭharudra.[100] While coming into the historical period, we also meet with a number of instances of girls serving in the temples. A passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tends to show that the system of dedicating girls to temples was prevalent during the reign of Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II.[101] Lalitāditya, in course of his adventurous journey saw two dancing girls belonging to a temple.[102] During the reign of Kalaśa two dancing girls Kayyā and Sahajā were attached to a temple.[103] Kalhaṇa himself was an eye-witness of superannuated dancing women in the temples of the valley.[104]

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* makes it quite clear that girls who served in the temples could be taken away for personal enjoyment by the king. Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II fell in love with a married woman named Narendraprabhā. He was very eager to have the lady, but afraid of slander could not take her to his seraglio. Then the merchant Noṇa, the husband of Narendraprabhā, requested the king to adopt her as his queen but finding him reluctant finally said, ' If even after this declaration you do not accept her, then you should take her from a temple as a dancing girl put there by me on account of her skill in dancing '.[105] It is thus evident that temple-girls, like common harlots, could be enjoyed by the king. Sahajā, a dancing girl attached to a temple, was taken by prince Utkarṣa as a concubine into the royal harem.[106]

The bad immoral practices underlying the system of *devadāsī* must have received some opposition from the honest and pure-minded section of the people. Alberuni refers to such an opposition in northwest parts of India during his time but then says that this was of no avail since the kings and nobles supported the custom.[107]

[1] Abhinavagupta and Bilhaṇa's ancestors were Madhyadeśī Brāhmaṇas whereas the ancestors of Abhinanda, the author of the *Kādambarī-kāthasāra* hailed fron Gauḍa.

[2] The earliest inscriptional reference of the Brāhmaṇas occurs in the edict of Aśoka, where they have been mentioned as one of the most important classes among the population of the Maurya empire. Since the valley of Kaśmīra was included within Aśoka's empire, it is not quite unlikely that the Brāhmaṇas from other parts of India had come to live in Kāśmīra by the time of Aśoka. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to Brāhmaṇas who had come to Kāśmīra from Aryadeśa (I, 341).

[3] *R.T.*, IV, 137.

[4] *R.T.*, IV, 469, 496.

[5] *R.T.*, VI, 168, 194, 284.

[6] *R.T.*, VII, 91.

[7] *R.T.*, VII, 1177.

[8] *R.T.*, VIII, 472.

[9] *R.T.*, VII, 1071.

[10] *R.T.*, IV, 5, 415, 673, V, 16-17, 120, VI, 89, VII, 295-97, etc.

[11] *R.T.*, I, 87-88, 96, 341, V, 403, 442, VI, 89, VII, 184.

[12] *R.T.*, II, 132, V, 48-52, 170.

[13] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 77.

[14] *R.T.*, V, 101.

[15] *R.T.*, VIII, 358.

[16] *Si-yu-ki*, (tr. Beal), i, pp. 150, 156.

[17] Cunningham was of opinion that the *Ki-lo-to* of Hiuen Tsang stood for the Kīra people (*Ancient Geography*, p. 107, Chuckervertty Chatterjee ed.). Stein has pointed out quite reasonably that this identification is not tenable but he also fails to suggest any better identification (*R.T.*, Eng. tr. Vol. II, p. 430).

[18] *R.T.*, VI, 192.

[19] *R.T.*, VI, 182.

[20] *R.T.*, V, 354-396.

[21] Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 102.

[22] *R.T.*, V, 390-94, 405, 407, 413, 415.

[23] *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 102.

[24] *R.T.*, IV, 516, VII, 309.

[25] *R.T.*, IV, 475, 476.

[26] *R.T.*, VIII, 304, 325, 1103.

[27] *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 102.

[28] *India* (tr. Sachau), i, pp. 101-2; *R.T.*, V, 77, VI, 79, 192.

[29] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verse 924; *R.T.*, VII, 207, 1665, VIII, 3031, 3063-69, 3077, 3230.

[30] Wilson, *Essay*, p. 51 and p. 70.

[31] *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, Vol. III, p. 125.

[32] *R.T.*, IV, 348.

[33] *R.T.*, V, 51-60.

[34] *R.T.*, V, 306-08, 326-28, 405-10.

[35] *R.T.*, V, 447, VI, 354.

[36] *R.T.*, VII, 154, 167, 357-58, 765.

[37] *R.T.*, VII, 223, 266, 576, 579, 914, 1227-45.

[38] *R.T.*, VII, 1254, VIII, 648, 929, 1124, 1153, 2505.

[39] *R.T.* (Eng. tr. Stein), Vol. I, pp. 123-24.

[40] *R.T.*, VIII, 458-59, 1444, 1607, 2337, 2953.

[41] *Samayamātṛkā* (ed. Durgaprasad), II, 21 sqq.

[42] *R.T.*, VII, 1172-73.

[43] *R.T.*, VII, 494.

[44] *R.T.*, VII, 495.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *R.T.*, VII, 1171, 1228-33, 1237, 1254, VIII, 627, 910, 1127, 2009-12.

[47] Wilson, *Essay*, pp. 51, 70 sqq.

[48] *R.T.*, VII, 1022, 1631, VIII, 424, 591, 733, 1430, 3115.

[49] *Proc. Indian History Congress*, 1946, pp. 191-92.

[50] Stein, *Notes on Ou-kong's account of Kāśmīra*, p. 24; Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), i, p. 206.

[51] *R.T.*, VII, 495.

[52] *R.T.*, IV, 628.

[53] *Samayamātṛkā*, I, 49.

[54] *Narmamālā*, I, 97-127.

[55] *R.T.*, IV, 628.

[56] *R.T.*, V, 49, VIII, 1864, 1866-67.

[57] *R.T.*, VI, 9, VIII, 2518.

[58] *R.T.*, IV, 11.

[59] *R.T.*, IV, 15-16.

[60] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (R.A.S.B. ed.), 68.

[61] *R.T.*, VI, 23, VII, 124-36, 708.

[62] *R.T.*, VII, 495.

[63] *R.T.*, V, 469, VI, 13, VII, 706-10; *Narmamālā*, II, 100.

[64] *R.T.*, VI, 13, VII, 82-91, 295-97; *Narmamālā*, II, 100-116.

[65] *R.T.*, IV, 216, VI, 13; *Narmamālā*, II, 68-81; *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 71.

[66] *R.T.*, II, 132, V, 465-66, VII, 13, VIII, 901-939.

[67] *R.T.*, VII, 203; *Deśopadeśa*, VI, 29; *Samayamātṛkā*, I, 8, 35.

[68] *R.T.*, VIII, 727.

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] *R.T.*, VII, 1232.

[71] *R.T.*, V, 441.

[72] *R.T.*, VII, 405-06, VIII, 2132; *Deśopadeśa*, VI, 29.

[73] *R.T.*, VI, 318-20.

[74] *R.T.*, V, 204.

[75] *R.T.*, VIII, 2383.

[76] *R.T.*, VII, 39-41.

[77] *Narmamālā*, I, 32 ff.

[78] *R.T.*, V, 175.

[79] *R.T.*, IV, 629.

[80] In his *Narmamālā* Kṣemendra vividly describes how the Kāyasthas steal away the State property and property of the temples

with a view of making money and also how they increase their private wealth by extorting from the villagers articles and cash money.

[81] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, 122, 123, 124.
[82] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII, 6.
[83] *R.T.*, VIII, 1820, 1823, 1968, 3118-19, etc.
[84] *Deśopadeśa*, VII.
[85] *R.T.*, VIII, 1969.
[86] *R.T.*, V, 226.
[87] *R.T.*, VI, 107.
[88] *R.T.*, VII, 103.
[89] *R.T.*, VII, 477-479.
[90] *R.T.*, VII, 724.
[91] *R.T.*, VII, 1486.
[92] *R.T.*, VIII, 368.
[93] *R.T.*, VIII, 445.
[94] *R.T.*, VIII, 2334.
[95] *R.T.*, VII, 724.
[96] *R.T.*, VII, 858.
[97] *R.T.*, VII, 1380.
[98] *R.T.*, VII, 1486.
[99] *R.T.*, VIII, 446.
[100] *R.T.*, I, 151.
[101] *R.T.*, IV, 36.
[102] *R.T.*, IV, 269.
[103] *R.T.*, VII, 857-58.
[104] *R.T.*, VIII, 707.
[105] *R.T.*, IV, 36.
[106] *R.T.*, VII, 858.
[107] Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), ii, p. 157.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Our sources of information for the early economic conditions of Kāśmīra are extremely meagre. Inscriptions play a leading role in tracing out the early economic life of the plains of India. But in the secluded valley of Kāśmīra, there is hardly anything to relate a sound story of the past. For the economic conditions of early Kāśmīra, we have got to depend on literary sources, indigenous as well as foreign, which, while dealing with other affairs, also incidentally tell us something about its early economic status. Among the native sources, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is an important work. Though, mainly speaking, the book treats with history of the ruling families of the valley, from the earliest times up to the 12th century A.D., it often supplies us with many useful informations about the agriculture, industry and trade of the land and various problems connected with them. Interesting sidelights on the early economic history of Kāśmīra have been also thrown by some of the works of the Kāśmīrian poet Kṣemendra (11th century A.D.), specially by his *Narmamālā*, *Samayamātṛkā* and *Deśopadeśa*. Of the foreign accounts, those of Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.), Ou-kong (8th century A.D.) and Alberuni (11th century A.D.) may be utilized for gleaning some important details bearing on the economic condition of the people of early Kāśmīra.

AGRICULTURE

Kāśmīra was primarily a land of villages where the bulk of the population naturally took to agriculture as their principal means of livelihood. Kalhaṇa tells us that the villagers were wholly absorbed by agriculture.[1]

Among the agricultural products, paddy seems to have been cultivated extensively from an early period as it was the staple food crop. *Dhānya* has been frequently mentioned in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* as a major food of the people which was also offered in worship to gods. It is also quite clear from the pages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that *dhānya* or rice was the staple produce of the valley, the scarcity of which often resulted in disastrous famines. According to the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (13th century A.D.) rice was the principal food of the people of

Kāśmīra.[2] The seeds of rice were probably sown during the month of *Caitra*.[3] By the month of *Bhādrapada* the fields were covered with ripe autumnal rice-crop[4] and the harvest was reaped in the next month after which a ceremony of new crops (*navānna*) was performed.[5] The method adopted for husking rice appears to have been the same as it is in modern times. Before removing the outer husk, the rice had to be dried, a reference to which seems to be contained in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the poet's description of a lady watching the rice, left outside the courtyard to dry in the sun.[6] Lands had to be ploughed properly before the sowing of seeds and oxen were employed for tillage of fields.[7]

Of the other food crops cultivated, mention may be made of *yava*, i.e., barley and pulses. The *yava*, according to the evidence furnished by the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, ripened at the end of *Jyaiṣṭha*.[8] The pulses consisted of several varieties such as *cana*, *kulattha*, *masura* and *muga*.[9]

Hiuen Tsang visited Kāśmīra in the 7th century A.D. and declared that the country 'was a good agricultural one and produced abundant fruits and flowers'. The pear (*li*), the wild plum (*nai*), the peach (*t'au*), the apricot (*hang* or *mui*) and the grape (*po-tau*) were the principal fruits noticed by the pilgrim.[10]

Drākṣā or grape seems to have been particularly cultivated. While singing of his homeland the poet Bilhaṇa describes the grapes growing abundantly in the valley.[11] Kalhaṇa says that the grapes, which were scarce even in heaven, were common in Kāśmīra.[12]

Another important agricultural product was the saffron or *kuṁkuma* (*croeus sativus*) which was extensively cultivated. The name *yuh-chin-hsiang* which has been identified by Watters as saffron occurs among the products of Kāśmīra specified by Hiuen Tsang.[13] In the *Nīlamatapurāna* we often find references of *kuṁkuma*, used in the service of worship offered to gods. Bilhaṇa testifies to the natural growth of the saffron in the valley,[14] a fact that is also corroborated by Kalhaṇa's evidence.[15] The saffron flowers blossomed in autumn and were once used to adorn the necks of oxen at the autumnal festival.[16]

IRRIGATION

The paddy which was the staple food of the population generally grew on the fertile lands adjoining to the river Vitastā.

Due to the lack of rain and proper system of irrigation it could not be cultivated in other regions. The produce, which was never sufficient, could feed the entire population only with great difficulty. Up to the middle of the 9th century A.D., the price of a *khāri* (177 lbs.) of rice was 200 *dīnāras* even in times of great abundance.[17]

Sometimes when the snow melted, the great Vitastā rose to the top of the banks and overflowed the arable lands around. Heavy summer rains also often caused disastrous floods and immense damage to the crops.

The floods and the famines which followed as a consequence, were constant dangers in old time. The cost of a *khāri* of rice rose as high as 1050 *dīnāras* during the rule of the later feeble Karkoṭa kings when the country was overtaken by disastrous floods.[18] In 917 A.D., when the whole autumn rice-crop was destroyed by a flood, the *khāri* was sold for a thousand *dīnāras*.[19] In 1099 A.D., when Harṣa was the king of Kāśmīra, many villages were flooded by an inundation and 500 *dīnāras* had to be paid for a single *khāri* of rice.[20]

Attempts were made to protect the cultivable lands from the disasters of floods from a very early time. A king called Dāmodara is said by Kalhaṇa to have built long stone-lined dykes in order to guard against inundations.[21] The minister of king Bālāditya erected an embankment.[22] The constructions of embankments were meant to protect the cultivable lands from floods whereas the surplus water which was thus obtained had the chance of being passed into several channels to irrigate other fields. An attempt to this direction was made by king Lalitāditya who arranged for conducting the waters of the Vitastā at Cakradhara (mod. Tsakadar) and distributed it to various villages. On account of the high plateaus around Cakradhara, the lands enclosed between Tsakadar and Vijabror could not be irrigated by means of ordinary canals and Lalitāditya had to take recourse to the construction of a series of water-wheels (*ambhaḥpratāraṇa*).[23]

The drainage operations of Lalitāditya made the country productive to a certain extent.[24] But the work of irrigation started by the great monarch was neglected by his incompetent successors when serious floods visited the valley (*R.T.*, V, 70).

An attempt was made by Suyya, the irrigation minister of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) to regulate the waters of the Vitastā and to drain the whole valley. Near Yakṣadara (mod. Dyargul) large rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river banks obstructed the Vitastā. Suyya dragged out the rocks from the river and the level of the river was lowered. Next a stone dam was constructed across the bed of the river for seven days when the river bed was cleared at the bottom and stone walls were erected against further fall of rocks. The dam was then removed and the river flowed with great rapidity through its newly cleared passage.

Wherever inundation breaches were known to occur during disastrous floods, new beds were constructed for the Vitastā. Formerly the Vitastā and the Sindhu met at a place between the village of Trigām and the Paraspor plateau, now they came to meet at a junction opposite to Shādipūr. By changing the course of the Vitastā from the north of Trigām to the south of it, Suyya reclaimed the marshes south of the Volur lake. The Volur lake was dammed and the new river course now carried its waters to that part of the Volur lake which by its depth and well-defined boundaries was naturally designed as a great reservoir to receive the surplus waters of the dangerous floods. On the land reclaimed, new villages were established. Suyya, then decided for each village the extent and distribution of the watercourse on a permanent basis and by using for irrigation the Anūlā and other streams enriched all regions by prosperous irrigated fields that suited their splendid and bounteous crops.[25]

The endeavours of Suyya met with unique success. We have already noted on the evidence of Kalhaṇa, that up to the middle of the 9th century A.D., the price of a *khāri* of rice, even in times of great abundance was 200 *dīnāras*. As a result of Suyya's operations, the *khāri* of rice came to be bought for 36 *dīnāras* only.[26]

Suyya's example to irrigate the unfertile plateaux of Kāśmīra was probably followed by others. An inscription discovered at Hatun, in the Punial tract up the Gilgit river records that Makarasiṁha, a feudatory of the Śāhi kings of Gilgit, cut a canal (*kulya*) and brought water to a land which was a waste before (*aṭavī*). (*J.R.A.S.*, 1944, pp. 5-14). It is likely that similar projects were undertaken in Kāśmīra proper also.

The irrigation scheme of Suyya or of any other person, however, could not permanently save the country from the clutches of famine, serious recurrences of which took place at least during the reigns of Pārtha and Harṣa.[27] With the growth of population, there must have been an increasing pressure on the total produce of the valley. The high plateaux could not be cultivated.

The cultivable lands being limited the food-grains which grew from them were also of a limited quantity. In normal times the restricted quantity of food-crops might have been just enough to meet the requirement of the entire population. But if any disaster, whether natural or man-made, deprived the country from a portion of its limited food supply, famines were the invariable result.

INDUSTRY

Though the majority of the inhabitants of early Kāśmīra were engaged in agriculture, a considerable number of the populace took up various industries and crafts as their vocations. The most notable of these were textiles, particularly of woollen, jewellery, smithery, leather-work, stone-work, wood-work and pottery.

Very fine cloth must have been produced in the valley from a remote period. In one of the tiles of Harwan, there appears a lady, wearing transparent robes.[28] There can be no doubt, that the superfine robes of which the artist speaks, was a reality. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kāśmīra, he found the people wearing clothes of white linen. Regarding the various kinds of woollen garments which were prevalent in Kāśmīra and other parts of north India where the air was cold, the following observations of the Chinese pilgrim deserve to be quoted. 'The names for their (i.e. of the people of northern India) clothing materials are *kiao-shê-ye* (*kausheya*) and muslin (*tieh*) and calico (*pu*), *kausheya* being silk from a wild silkworm; *ch'ü* (or *ch'u*)-*mo* (*kshauma*), a kind of linen; *han* (or *kan*)-*po-lo* (*kambala*), a texture of fine wool (sheep's wool or goat's hair), and *ho-la-li* (ral?), a texture made from the wool of a wild animal—this wool being fine and soft and easily spun and woven is prized as a material for clothing'.[29] Leaving aside *ho-la-li* which was rare, it is evident from Hiuen Tsang that there were three main types of clothing; the first being *kauṣeya* covering various kinds of silk and muslin, the second *kṣauma*, linen manufactured from flax and hemp and the third *kambala*, implying woollen blankets and other kinds of cloth made from the wool of goats and similar other animals.

Various kinds of woollen blankets and garments such as *lohita-kambala*, *sthūla-kambala*, *kuthā* and *prāvāra* are referred to in Kṣemendra's *Narmamālā* and *Samayamātṛkā* and in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Pattana (mod. Paṭan, the town founded by king Śaṁkaravarman) was a city famous for the weaving of cloths.[30] Woollen industry naturally presupposes the existence of a population devoted to pasture and there must have been many people in Kāśmīra who took up cattle-rearing as their means of livelihood. In this connection it is interesting to note, that Pattana which was a cloth weaving centre, was also a city famous for the transactions and sale of cattle.[31]

Another important industry was smithery. No agricultural community can go without implements which are needed for ploughing and digging soil and reaping harvest. Blacksmiths, therefore, were engaged from a remote period in making different types of tools which were employed in agriculture. Different kinds of steel weapons, such as swords, arrow-heads, dagger, *katar* or mace used in battle, were also manufactured by them. Copper and bronze, in addition to the black metal, engaged the attention of the metal workers. Various types of domestic utensils needed for the purpose of cooking and serving the food were made from brass and copper.[32] Some images discovered from the valley bespeak a high standard of craftsmanship that the workers of early Kāśmīra achieved in casting and moulding bronze.

Jewellery too, provided food for many of the metal-workers. The inhabitants of the valley, men and women alike, used various types of silver, golden and precious stone-made jewelleries for personal adornment. The fashions of ornaments changed from time to time[33] and the goldsmiths had always a busy time of it. Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa testify that kings and nobles took their meals in cups and dishes which were made of gold and silver. Golden pitchers too have been alluded to.[34]

Pottery was one of the principal crafts. The Yale Cambridge expeditionary party, which made a trial excavation at Burzahom (between Srinagar and Gandarbal) in the year 1935, found a large number of ancient pottery. While the lower culture layer yielded a type of highly polished black ware and potsherds with incised geometric designs assignable to a period ranging from 3000 to 1800 B.C., the upper culture layer was found to contain potsherds belonging to the same Buddhist period as the site of Harwan, which represents the 4th century A.D. (De Terra and Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, p. 234; for a fuller discussion on the pottery see *infra* pp. 190-91; also p. 204, footnotes). A large number of earthen vessels such as jar, gharā, hāṇḍī, jug, bowl, kāṅgarī or earthen brazier, incense burner, bottle, earthen lamp, etc., have also been recovered at Avantipura. Many of them are datable to the

9th century A.D.[35] Several terracotta plaques which were discovered from the same site also speak of the potter's art. Kṣemendra refers to earthen ear-rings which were used by women of the poorer classes.[36] In one passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Kalhaṇa makes mention of potter-woman, from the context of which, it appears that pottery as an industry worked well in the valley.[37]

Another important industry was that of glass. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is stated that the merchant Padmarājā regularly despatched to king Bhoja of Malwa, the water of Pāpasūdana *tīrtha* filled in large numbers of glass jars.[38] Huge quantity of ancient glass fragments are found strewn on the road that leads to the Pāpasūdana-Kapateśvara spring from the village of Koṭher.[39] They indicate that in early times there existed a flourishing glass industry in the locality.

Among other industries, those of leather-work, wood-work and stone-work were important. According to Chinese evidence, in the 7th century A.D., the people of Kāśmīra wore leather doublets.[40] Kalhaṇa speaks of leather tanners as members of a particular profession.[41] Kṣemendra refers to leather water-bag among the important camp luggages of a Kāyastha officer.[42] The peacock shoes and other foot-wears must have been made of leather.[43] In this connection, it is interesting to note Kalhaṇa's remark that a hundred *dīnāras* were given to one leather-worker for the repair of a torn shoe and of a whip.[44]

Wood was probably employed for structural purposes, but in the absence of any architectural specimen of wood-carving, it is not possible to make any definite assertion on the point. Wood-workers, however, must have made boats, carriages, palanquins and other types of conveyances and also household furnitures.[45]

The stone images which have been discovered in the valley, amply testify to the skill of the stone-carver of Kāśmīra and also to the wide extent of his profession.

Besides the principal industries mentioned above, there were many other minor industries, arts and crafts. In this connection, mention may be made of the professions of fishermen, gardeners, garland-makers, barbers, carters, and different types of artisans who formed various classes of the society. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, there were copper mines in ancient Kāśmīra[46] and many workers must have been employed there for extracting the metal.

TRADE

Geographically, Kāśmīra occupies a key position touching the borders of India, Tibet, Afghanisthan and Central Asia, a feature that make her a great centre of trade and commerce.

Our knowledge regarding the internal trade of early Kāśmīra is comparatively meagre. Kalhaṇa's mention of regularly arranged markets (*haṭṭa*) in the city of Pravarapura[47] and references of new foundations of market by some members of the royal family in other towns[48], however, leave no room for doubt that a brisk inland trade was carried on in Kāśmīra from a remote period. Kalhaṇa's description of the semi-legendary town of Narapura where the markets were kept full of supplies shows how closely the markets were associated in the Kāśmīrian mind with the idea of a large town.[49]

The principal items of commerce within the country were probably the different kinds of woollen cloth, food-grains, grape-wine, saffron, cattle, iron implements, earthen wares, bronze and copper utensils, leather-goods, etc., which were the chief natural and industrial products of the country. Though no detailed evidence is forthcoming, it seems almost certain that the various towns and cities of the valley like Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna, Huṣkapura, Pravarapura, Parihāsapura, Jayapura, Śaṁkarapattana, Avantipura, and Śūrapura were principal commercial centres. Kalhaṇa informs us that Śaṁkarapattana was a city famous for the purchase and sale of cattle and for cloth weaving.[50] As already mentioned, Śrīnagara or Pravarapura had several markets.[51] A market called Kamalāhaṭṭa was founded at Parihāsapura by Lalitāditya's queen.[52] Śūrapura was an important station on the route to Rājapurī and was evidently a convenient emporium on the southern trade route. The internal trade was carried on both by land and river. Some idea of the land route may probably be had from the itinerary of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. The pilgrim entered the valley from the west through the Bārāmūla pass. From Bārāmūla he went to Huṣkapura. The next place which he visited was Śrīnagara or Pravarapura, the capital. From the capital the pilgrim travelled through a mountainous district south west for above 700 li and reached *Pan-nu-tso*, i.e., modern Punch. From Punch, a journey south-west of above 400 li brought him to the *Ho-lo-she-pu-lo* (Rājapurī) country which at the time of Hiuen Tsang was subject to Kāśmīra.[53] There can be little doubt that in the 7th century A.D. commercial products were chiefly carried in the same road through which Hiuen Tsang travelled.

Rich riverine traffic too was carried on along the navigable parts of the Jhelum. The boats were used in the happy valley for conveyance from a remote period and it may be presumed that many of them were employed for carrying commercial goods from one end of the country to the other. Dayaram Sahni is of opinion that the large sized stone blocks which were needed for the construction of big temples must have been carried in strong boats.[54] That the river Vitastā played an important part in the commercial traffic of the valley is also evident from the fact that most of the cities and towns of ancient Kāśmīra flourished on its banks.

Kāśmīra's trade relations with foreign territories must be traced to a period of remote antiquity. Regular commercial contact with the countries of Central Asia must have been established as a result of the Kuṣāṇa conquest of the valley, if not earlier. Her trade with India was most probably carried on from an even remoter period, perhaps since the days of Aśoka. Paucity of evidence, however, prevents us from tracing its early character or determine its date. According to the evidence furnished by Kalhaṇa, Kāśmīra had political and cultural alliance with Loḥ, i.e., Leh, the capital of Ladakh from a considerable early period.[55] Possibly some sort of commercial relation also existed between the two countries.

The principal routes of Kāśmīra leading to the neighbouring countries, references to which may be found in the accounts of foreign travellers as well as in indigenous literature, were presumably also the chief routes through which trade and commerce with other countries were carried on.

The chief land route on the west was that which went from Varāhamūla to Gandhāra. In the 7th century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang entered Kāśmīra through this route. Ou-kong coming from Gandhāra followed this route on his way to the happy valley about the middle of the 8th century A.D. He describes this route as the road which starts from 'the western gate' and goes to *Kien-to-lo*, i.e., Gandhāra.[56] Kalhaṇa's account tends to show that king Śaṁkaravarman's (A.D. 883-902) expeditionary force against Uraśā set out and returned by this route.[57] A somewhat detailed description of this route has also been preserved in Alberuni's *Kitab-ul-Hind*, where it is said to be the 'best known' entrance to Kāśmīra.[58] The western route was undoubtedly one of the most important trade routes of Kāśmīra for it was connected with the famous ancient trade lines leading up to Central Asia and

China. One of these lines, as we learn from the Chinese biography of Jinagupta (6th century A.D.), passed through Nagarahāra, the trade emporium of Kapisā, the Bamiyan range, the territories of Badakhshan, Wakhaṇ and Tash Kurghan and ultimately reached Khotan. Another Indian Buddhist pilgrim Dharmagupta (*c.* 6th century A.D.) availed himself of this route, but from Tash Kurghan, instead of going directly to Khotan through snow-peaked ranges, he went directly to Kashgar.

From the accounts left by Indian and Chinese pilgrims, we learn that from Kashgar two different routes went up to the frontiers of China, one along the southern fringes of the Tarim basin and the other along the north. The prosperous states of Yarkand, Khotan, Niya and a number of forgotten colonies near the sites of Dandan Ulik and Miran were situated on the southern route. The countries lying along the northern route were Bharuka, Kuci, Karashar and Turfan. The two routes coming from the south and north met on the Chinese frontier at a place named *Yu-men-kuan*. The routes of Central Asia mentioned above played an important part in the trade relation between India on the one hand and Central Asia and China on the other. Merchants and traders from Kāśmīra must have travelled by these routes during the Kuṣāṇa period and afterwards.[59]

The northern route ran from the north shore of the Volur lake through the modern village of Atawat and Vijjemarg leading to Astor and Balti territories on the Indus. This route was followed by the Chinese travellers Fa-hien (399 A.D.), Che-mong (400 A.D.) and Fa-yong (420 A.D.), the Chinese official envoy Song-yun (518 A.D.) and the Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong.[60] Ou-kong described it as the second pass of Kāśmīra leading up to *Po-liu* or Baltistan.[61] Tāranāṭh writes that the second pass became fit for communication soon after Madhyantika's death.[62] The present Gilgit road seems to run beside the old pass. In ancient times, this route must have served as a second line of commerce with Central Asia and China, though due to its inaccessibility, it might have been less frequented. Kāśmīra's trade link with Darad territory was also maintained by this route.

To the east of Kāśmīra, there was a third important route leading to Ladakh and then to Tibet and China. It is represented by the present pass of Jo-ji-la. This route was distinctly referred to by Ou-kong who mentioned it as the road which started from the 'gate in the east' and led to *Tou-fan* or Tibet.[63] Kalhaṇa's Chronicle probably points out that when the northern route from Darad country to Kāśmīra became closed by the winter, this route of the Bhauṭṭa land (Bhuṭṭarāṣṭradhvan) was used for a journey towards Kāśmīra.[64] The Jo-ji-la pass must have played a great part in the political, cultural and commercial intercourse between Tibet and Kāśmīra. In the 14th century A.D. the Turk Dulca and the Bhauṭṭa Riñcana entered the happy valley through it.[65]

Several other routes of Kāśmīra on the southern side penetrated through the Pīr Pantsāl range to India proper. The Bāṇaśālā or Bānhāl pass on the eastern extremity of the range maintained link with the hill states of East Punjab. This pass was the only route across the Pīr Pantsāl range where the snow fall was comparatively little and where communication was possible throughout the year. Hence the route was specially suitable for Bhikṣācara's invasion to Kāśmīra from the valley of Chenab which took place in winter.[66]

Proceeding westwards from Bāṇaśālā, we come to the pass of Siddhapatha. This pass lies on a route directly connecting Śrīnagara with Sialkot (anc. Śākala) in the Punjab. During the reign of Sussala, Prāsa, son of Sahasramaṅgala, with the view of raising a rebellion prepared to march into Kāśmīra by this route.[67] Due to its hilly character traffic in the route was possible only on foot.

West of the Siddhapatha pass, near the central part of the Pīr Pantsāl range, runs the Pīr Pantsāl route. In early days it was a much frequented line of commerce between Kāśmīra and central Punjab. The route took its start from the Kāśmīra town of Śūrapura which was founded by Avantivarman's minister Śūra.[68] It then passed across Kramavarta [69], Hastivañja[70], Pañcāladhārā[71] and Puṣyāṇanāḍa[72] and reached Bhairavagala[73] in the territory of Rājapurī[74]. Kṣemendra's mention of a part of this route as *lavaṇasaraṇi*[75] tends to show that ancient salt trade between Punjab and Kāśmīra was carried on by this route.

The last important route across the Pīr Pantsāl range was the Toṣmaidān pass. It lay on an ancient line of communication which joined Śrīnagara and Lohara and afterwards led to the valley of Punch. Hiuen Tsang tells us that from near the capital of Kāśmīra, he travelled through a difficult mountainous district south west for above 700 *li* to the *Pan-nu-ts'o* country.[76] On his way to Parnotsa, the Chinese pilgrim in all probability, seems to have crossed the Toṣmaidān route. After the death of Saṁgrāmarāja, the king of Kāśmīra, Lohara king Vigraharāja invaded Kāśmīra. His army in this journey from Lohara to

Śrīnagara marched through this way.[77] Kalhaṇa's Chronicle reveals that during the rule of the first and second Lohara dynasty the Toṣmaidān route was a line of frequent communication.[78] If Alberuni is to be believed, Mahmud of Ghazni's unsuccessful expedition against Kāśmīra was also directed by this route.[79]

The western, northern and eastern routes, as well as the various passes over the Pīr Pantsāl range leading to the south, were important lines of communication between Kāśmīra and her neighbouring territories and a brisk trade must have been carried through these routes in ancient times. The several routes over the Pīr Pantsāl range, which as we have already seen were links between Kāśmīra and central and eastern parts of the Punjab, were joined by other highways which penetrated far into the interior provinces of India. Kāśmira's trade with midland and eastern India was probably carried, in the 7th century A.D., by the same way in which Hiuen Tsang journeyed. Dāmodara Gupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* relates to the events of Vārānasī in such a manner that it seems extremely likely that some sort of communication existed between Banaras and Kāśmīra. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva which preserves traditions of a comparatively early age refers to a mendicant travelling from Kāśmīra to Pāṭaliputra and to a student from the seat of learning of Pāṭaliputra going to Kāśmīra[80], whereas Kṣemendra found students from Gauḍa reading at the educational institutions of the happy valley.[81] The routes by which the students from the eastern parts of India travelled, were presumably also the trade routes of early times. Poet Bilhaṇa's account of journey from Kāśmīra to south India bears testimony to the fact that in the 11th century A.D., Kāśmīra was connected by highways with the principal cities and kingdoms of India. 'After leaving his native country he (Bilhaṇa) made for the banks of the Jamna along which the high road from north-western to central India was situated then as now. The first town, in which he stopped for sometime, was the sacred Tīrtha, Mathurā; thence he crossed over northwards to the Ganges and visited Kanoj. Following apparently the course of the latter river, he arrived at its confluence with the Jamna at Prayāga (Allahabad) and finally at Banaras. This town appears to have been the easternmost point in his travels. It would seem that either at Banaras or in travelling back westwards he made the acquaintance of Karṇa, the prince holding Ḍāhala (Chedi or Bundelkhand)......On leaving Karṇa, the poet visited Western India, attracted no doubt by the fame of the courts of Dhārā and Anhilvāḍ and the sanctity of Somnath Pathan, the celebrated temple of Śiva in Soraṭh..... After performing his devotions at Somanātha, Bilhaṇa embarked, no doubt at the neighbouring port of Verabal, for the South of India. . He continued his wanderings in the south for a considerable time and visited Rāmeśvara. Thence he turned northwards and finally arrived in Kalyāṇa, where king Vikrama gave him the office of Vidyāpati or Chief Pandit'.[82] It is likely that the routes by which the poet Bilhaṇa journeyed were traversed by many merchants and traders and their caravans carrying loads of commercial commodities. Bilhaṇa was not the only Kāśmīrian to accept a post in the court of Vikramāditya VI. The Lakshmeshwar inscription of the year 27 of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI refers to His Majesty's high minister and general Bhivanaya or Bhīma, a native of Kāśmīra who held the title of *mahāsāmantādhipati* and filled several important offices, being at the time the administrator of the palasige twelve thousand and the controller of *achchu-pannaya*, one of the departments of taxation.[83] Then again the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Aśokachalla of the Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat 51 makes mention of a *pandit* of Kāśmīra who was the *rājaguru* or royal preceptor and whose name has been differently read by scholars as Kāśmīra pandita Bhadanta Gucapatha or Kāśmīra pandita Abhaya Śrīrāja.[84] Another celebrated monk of Kāśmīra Vinayaśrīmitra chose as his abode the Kanakastūpavihāra of Paṭṭikeraka, in the district of Tipperah. All these amply show that Kāśmīra's communication with other parts of India was quite frequent in early days.

Though no detailed evidence is forthcoming, it may be presumed that the chief articles of export were raw wool, manufactured woollen cloths, hides, skins and leather goods, and fruits like pear, wild-plum, peach, apricot and grape.[85] Kalhaṇa refers to the selling of victuals by traders to far off regions which must have been very profitable.[86] Another important product for which the Kāśmīrians could find an easy market outside their territory was the saffron. That demand for the Kāśmīrian saffron in Indian market was very great in ancient times can be inferred from Śri Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*, where the saffron of Kāśmīra is preferred to the saffrons grown in the country of the Pārasīkas and the Bāhlīkas.[87]

Among the principal items of import, salt was a considerable commodity. Without any sea and without any mountain or mine of salt, Kāśmīra had to depend upon her neighbouring territories for the supply of this imporant article. The Pīr Pantsāl route was the chief way by which salts from Punjab mines were brought to the happy valley. Kṣemendra's mention of a portion of this route as *lavaṇasaraṇi* or salt road is undoubtedly a reminiscence of the ancient salt trade.[88] The assafoetida and other kinds of spices which were used[89], but which did not grow within the limits of Kāśmīra, appear to have been imported from outside, presumably from the regions adjoining Afghanistan. From China were imported fine cloths (*cīnāmbara*)[90] and vermillon.[91] According to the evidence of Marco Polo (13th century A.D.) coral, which was carried from the western parts of the world, had a better sale in Kāśmīra than in any other country.[92]

The mountain passes, through which trade was carried on, were well protected for fear of foreign invasions and each of them had a watch station at the end of the route. In addition to soldiers, customs officers were posted in these stations for collecting duties. Kṣemendra refers to the *śulkasthāna* of the Kāśmīrian end of the Pīr Pantsāl route and the *śaulkikas* who were posted on duty there.[93] A passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* clearly points out that commodities coming and going through the watch stations were stamped and registered by the customs officers and duties had to be paid to them on export and import of articles.[94]

Medium of exchange

The economic condition of ancient Kāśmīra seems to find a reflection in its medium of exchange.

The use of metallic currency marks considerable advance in the economic life of a country. As we shall shortly see, coins were probably introduced in the valley of Kāśmīra earlier than the birth of Christ. It is, however, interesting to observe that in Kāśmīra there were other media of exchange even when coins were being used in daily transactions.

One of these was cowrie shell. Cowrie shells, in fact, had been in use in almost all parts of India from a remote period. When metallic coins were not invented, it was presumably the principal medium of exchange in economic transactions. But sometimes it was found to be current side by side with gold, silver and copper coins. Fa-hien noticed cowries being used in the markets of Madhyadeśa in the Gupta period. In Bengal, revenue was collected in the form of cowrie shells even as late as 1750 A.D. The same thing happened in Kāśmīra too. If Kṣemendra is to be believed, in the 11th century A.D. cowries were used in daily transactions.[95] That the lowest denomination of the prevailing currency of the same period was *varāṭaka*, is evident from Kalhaṇa.[96] The use of cowrie prevailed in Jonarāja's time and he contrasts *kaḍi* with crore.[97]

Another medium of exchange in early Kāśmīra was paddy or *dhānya*. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there are indications that in the 9th century A.D., the land revenue of Kāśmīra was collected in the form of *dhānya*.[98] This, however, does not prove conclusively that *dhānya* was a medium of exchange. But in the *Lokaprakāśa khāris* of *dhānya* in fixed quantities are stated to be payments of rents, fines, wages etc. and are said to have been equivalent to *dīnāras*.[99] The evidence of Kalhaṇa coupled with the testimony of *Lokaprakāśa* leaves little doubt that *dhānya* was a medium of exchange in some periods of Kāśmirīan history.

Though definite evidence is lacking, still it is highly probable, that *dhānya* and cowrie shells were used as media of exchange in the valley from a very remote period. As everywhere in the world, so also in Kāśmīra, barter must have been the earliest stage of commercial transactions. But there were many disadvantages of the system and that might have led to the innovation of *dhānya* to be used as medium of exchange. *Dhānya* as medium of exchange had at least two distinct advantages. Firstly, it was an essential commodity and therefore, acceptable to all. Secondly, it had the quality of being divisible into minutest portions. In a slightly later stage of economic life, cowries possibly came in use.

Many coins of the Indo-Greek and Scythian rulers have been recovered from different parts of Kāśmīra.[100] It is not unlikely that they were the earliest metallic currency of the valley.

From Kalhaṇa we learn that Kāśmīra formed a part of the far flung Kuṣāṇa empire. During the Kuṣāṇa period Kāśmīra seems to have had a bimetallic currency of gold and copper. The overland trade routes, which were opened as a result of the Kuṣāṇa conquest and to which Kāśmīra was a chief emporium, must have considerably enriched the valley and raised her economic standard to a high level. It was during this flourishing period that the Roman golds, being ultimately transformed into minted Kuṣāṇa coins, became current in Kāśmīra. The gold coins appear to have been particularly adopted for carrying on trade with foreign countries, since foreign merchants usually would not accept anything but gold. The copper coins were presumably the media of exchange in daily transactions.

After the fall of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas, most probably the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas came to rule over the valley. Their coinage, though following the main trend of the Kuṣāṇa coins, was inferior to that, both in type and metal. The volume of coins circulated by the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas also seems to be considerably less than that of their celebrated predecessors. The reason for this deterioration in Kidāra Kuṣāṇa coins is not far to seek. The high pitch of trade and commerce of Kuṣāṇa period lowered down shortly after the disintegration of their empire. The disturbing raids of the Hūṇas over peaceful trade routes of Central Asia had started about the end of the 4th century A.D. The Hūṇa inroads and the rise of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, which brought some parts of north-west India under their sway, must have affected the normal activities of trade and commerce with Central Asian territories and this probably reacted on the base gold coins of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas.

The rise of the Hūṇas, their conquest of parts of Central Asia, invasion of India and lastly occupation of Kāśmīra further worsened the economic condition of the valley. The overland trade-routes were disturbed and ultimately closed down. A landlocked territory, detached from the rest of the world, Kāśmīra under the Hūṇas was an impoverished country. Probably gold and base gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas and Kidāra Kuṣāṇas went out of circulation during this period.

The next coinage of Kāśmīra was of copper, struck by Toramāṇa, who in all probability seems to have ruled over Kāśmīra in the 6th century A.D. The Toramāṇa type of copper coins continued to be in circulation for a long period; they were found to be used in daily transactions even as late as the time of the Muslim rule.[101] These coins seem to have been struck in large numbers, probably up to the beginning of the Karkoṭa period, by different kings who ruled in the valley and were in circulation in the kingdom of Kāśmīra for a still longer period. One of the kings, Pravarasena (*c.* 580 A.D.), struck coins of gold and silver. But the economic condition of the country was not favourable to a gold or silver currency and the valley of Kāśmīra seems to have been linked with a copper currency shortly after his death.

The Karkoṭas, who came to rule over Kāśmīra in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., struck coins of copper, not of the Toramāṇa type, but of a type of their own. In addition to the copper money, they struck coins of mixed metal which contained gold, silver and copper in different proportions. This mixed metal coin of the Karkoṭas is generally known by the name of electrum.

It appears that by the beginning of the 7th century A.D. when the Hūṇa inroads had subsided, the old trade routes of Central Asia were partially reestablished and Kāśmīra's commercial links with her neighbours were restored. Due to the rise of the Muslim power with whom she had a strained relation, her trade with western countries must have hampered. But now she appears to have found a market at China and at Tibet and also in some provinces of India. The commerce and trade with neighbouring countries may be presumed to have enriched the Karkoṭa Kāśmīra, the result of which was reflected not only on the magnificent temples and buildings of Mārtaṇḍa, Parihāsakeśava and Rāmasvāmī but perhaps also upon the coinage of the valley which was no longer of copper only; gold and silver along with copper had come to be used in the mints of the Karkoṭas.

The Karkoṭas could maintain the high economic standard for a short period only. The conquering expeditions of Lalitāditya and his grand-son Jayāpīḍa were probably responsible for the creation of an Indian market for Kāśmīra goods. But the later weak Karkoṭas, who stepped into their shoes, were unable to maintain the traditions of their great predecessors. Indian markets were presumably closed down with the rise of other north Indian powers. Trade with immediate neighbours of the west and north was brought to an end when these countries came under the standards of Islam.

If Śaṁkaravarman's (A.D. 883-902) identity with Yaśovarman be accepted (See *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 1-3), then in the post-Karkoṭa period, he must be given the credit of bringing back mixed gold coins once more in circulation. But the economic condition of the country not being favourable, the monarch's attempt to introduce mixed metal currency anew seems to have ultimately failed.

With the exception of the reign of Harṣa, from the time of Śaṁkaravarman down to the end of the Hindu rule, Kāśmīra had a coinage of copper alone. There were indeed gold reserves in the valley. In Kalhaṇa's Chronicle one finds king Yaśaskara retiring with a treasure of 2000 pieces of gold.[102] During the reign of Ananta, acquisition of gold was the popular form of investment (*R.T.*, VII, 211-212). Sussala is recorded to have transmitted gold ingots to his treasury in the Lohara castle in order to hoard there the wealth he collected by oppressive fiscal sytem.[103] In Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* and Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* there are innumerble instances of the use of golden ornaments. But from the 9th century onwards whatever gold the Kāśmīrians possessed, they seem to have kept that either in the form of bullion or in ornaments. There is no evidence that gold coins any longer were in circulation.

The reason for the withdrawal of gold coins is not far to seek. It may be presumed that gold coins were particularly needed for payment to foreign merchants who would not accept coins of any other metal.[104] Now when trade with foreign countries came almost to a stop, gold coins were no longer required. Whatever little trade was going on with China and Tibet, could be paid back by gold bullions[105] or it could be carried on by cowrie shells, the use of which in early Kāśmīra is vouchsafed from Kṣemendra.[106] It is, therefore, nothing strange, that from the beginning of the 10th century A.D. onwards Kāśmīra had a coinage of copper only. Moreover, inspite of the references in the pages of Kalhaṇa to copper mines of Kāśmīra from which coppers were regularly extracted and were minted into coins[107], it is not known for certain whether there was any gold mine in the valley. Probably there was none. All gold appears to have poured from outside into the valley by the way of trade and commerce. When trade and commerce with foreign countries ceased, the entry of gold from outside territories also stopped. This also may account for the absence of gold in the coins of Kāśmīra from the 10th century onwards.

Another cause for the withdrawal of gold coins from the markets of Kāśmīra, from the 10th century onwards, must be sought in the operation of the general economic law which declares that when coins of more than one metal are in circulation, the coins of the less valuable metal invariably drive away the coins of the more valuable metal from the market. In other words, bad money always drives away the good. Now during the Karkoṭa period and even sometimes after that, copper coins were in circulation in Kāśmīra side by side with mixed metal coins, which had in them an appreciable quantity of gold. The disturbed economic state of the country in the last days of the Karkoṭa regime, probably witnessed the proper linking of the coins of two different metals coming to an end, as a result of which minted metal coins came to be appreciated in preference to the copper coins. Under such condition, it would have been the natural tendency of the people to get the better metal coin and discard the inferior other, which resulted in the withdrawal of all mixed metal coins from the market of Kāśmīra. In the end of the 11th century A.D., king Harṣa tried to circulate gold and silver coins, but he failed, presumably due to the operation of the Gresham's economic law.

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI, 9.

[2] Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 166.

[3] *Nīlamatapurāṇā* (ed. De Vreese), 529-541.

[4] *R.T.*, II, 18, V, 270, VIII, 770, 795.

[5] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), 748-754.

[6] *R.T.*, I, 246.

[7] *R.T.*, IV, 347.

[8] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), 696-697.

[9] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (R.A.S.B. ed.), 228; *Narmamālā* (ed. M. Kaul), I, 124.

[10] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), Vol. I, p. 88.

[11] *Drākṣāmanyaḥ sarasasarayū puṇḍrakacchedapāndurṁ*, *Vikram*, XVIII, 72.

[12] *R.T.*, I, 42.

[13] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 262.

[14] *Eko bhāgaḥ prakṛti subhagaṁ kuṁkumaṁ yasya sute*, *Vikram.*, XVIII, 72.

[15] *R.T.*, I, 42.

[16] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 263.

[17] *R.T.*, V, 116.

[18] *R.T.*, V, 70-71.

[19] *R.T.*, V, 271.

[20] *R.T.*, VII, 1219-20.

[21] *R.T.*, I, 159.

[22] *R.T.*, III, 483.

[23] *R.T.*, IV, 191.

[24] *R.T.*, V, 69.

[25] For a detailed account of the irrigation work of Suyya, see *R.T.*, V, 85-113.

[26] *R.T.*, V 116-117.

[27] *R.T.*, V, 271, VII, 1219-22.

[28] R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, Pl. XXIV, No. 5.

[29] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 148.

[30] *R.T.*, V, 162.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Narmamālā* (ed. Kaul), I, 108-109.

[33] *R.T.*, VII, 928-931.

[34] *R.T.*, VIII, 265.

[35] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14, pp. 54-58.

[36] *Narmamālā*, I, 75.

[37] *R.T.*, VIII, 138.

[38] *R.T.*, VII, 190-193.

[39] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 139.

[40] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), Vol. I, p. 148.

[41] *R.T.*, IV, 55.

[42] *Narmamālā* (ed. Kaul), I, 109.

[43] *Ibid.*, 124.

[44] *R.T.*, VIII, 137.

[45] *Narmamālā*, i, 124.

[46] *R.T.*, IV, 616-617.

[47] *R.T.*, III, 358.

[48] *R.T.*, IV, 208.

[49] *R.T.*, I, 201-202.

[50] *R.T.*, V, 162.

[51] *R.T.*, III, 358.

[52] *R.T.*, IV, 208.

[53] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, pp 258-285

[54] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915-16, p. 56.

[55] *R.T.*, III, 10.

[56] L'Itinéraire d'Ou-kong, *J.A.*, 1895, p. 356.

[57] *R.T.*, V, 215-25

[58] Alberuni's *India* (tr. Sachau), Vol. I, pp. 206 sqq.

[59] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 13-14; N.P. Chakravarti, *India and Central Asia*, pp. 1-3.

[60] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 68-74.

[61] L'Itinéraire d' Ou-kong, *J.A.*, 1895, p. 356.

[62] Schiefner, *Tāranāth's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien au dem tibetischen ubersetzt*, p. 23.

[63] L'Itinéraire d'Ou-kong, *J.A.*, 1895, p. 356.

[64] *R.T.*, VIII, 2887.

[65] Jonarāja, 142 sqq.

[66] *R.T.*, VIII, 1661-70.

[67] *R.T.*, VIII. 557.

[68] *R.T.*, VII, 1520, VIII, 1051, 1134, 1266, 1577; Śrīvara, I, 109, III, 433, IV, 531, 589, 611.

[69] *R.T.*, III, 27.

[70] *R.T.*, 302, sqq.; *Ain-i-Akb.*, II (tr. Jarret, 1st. ed.), pp. 347.

[71] Kṣemendra, *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 92.

[72] *R.T.*, VIII, 959.

[73] Śrīvara, IV, 529, 589.

[74] For detailed account of the Pīr Pantsāl route and the ancient sites lying along it see Notes on the Ancient Topography of the Pīr Pantsāl Route, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 381 sqq.

[75] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 90.

[76] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 283.

[77] *R.T.*, VII, 140 sqq.

[78] *R.T.*, VII, 969-70, 1298, VIII, 192-201.

[79] Alberuni's *India* (tr. Sachau), Vol. I, p. 207 sqq.

[80] Tawny, *Ocean of stories*, Vol. V, p. 178-179.

[81] *Deśopadeśa*, VI.

[82] Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (ed. Bühler), Intr. pp. 18, 19; also canto XVIII, verses, 84-103.

[83] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 32ff.

[84] *Ep. Ind. Vol.* XII, p. 28.

[85] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), Vol. I, p. 88.

[86] *R.T.*, VII, 495.

[87] *Kāśmīradeśaje kṣetre kuṁkumaṁ yadbhaveddhi tat* ।
Sūkṣmakeśaramāraktaṁ padmagandhi taduttamaṁ ॥
Bāhlīkadeśasañjātaṁ kuṁkumaṁ pānduraṁ bhavet ।
Ketakīgandhayuktaṁ tanmadhyamaṁ sūkṣakeśaraṁ ॥
Kuṁkumaṁ Pārasīke yat madhugandhi tadīritaṁ ।
Iṣatpānduravarṇaṁ tadadhamaṁ sthūlakeśaraṁ ॥

[88] If Kṣemendra is to be believed, salt was a luxury in Kāśmīra at his time and generally common people had to go without it; *Narmamālā*, I, 127.

[89] *R.T.*, VIII, 1221.

[90] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (R.A.S.B. ed.), 343.

[91] *R.T.*, VII, 97.

[92] Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 167.

[93] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 102.

[94] *R.T.*, VIII, 2010.

[95] *Kalāvilāsa*, II, 5, 7; *Samayamātṛkā*, VIII, 80.

[96] *R.T.*, VII, 112.

[97] Jonarāja, 588.

[98] *R.T.*, V, 171.

[99] Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVIII, pp. 346, 378.

[100] Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 44; Bühler, *Rep.*, p. 18; Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 50.

[101] Coins of Toramāṇa were discovered along with the coins of Muslim Sultans of Kāśmīra at Avantipura, *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14, pp. 50-51. Śrīvara testifies to the circulation of Toramāṇa coins as late as the 15th century A.D.; Śrīvara's chronicle, iii, 213.

[102] *R.T.*, VI, 102-103.

[103] *R.T.*, VIII, 639.

[104] The coins of the Karkoṭas were not gold, they were of electrum. But these were circulated apparently with the intention of using them as gold coins. They might be accepted by foreign merchants at a discount ratio, according to the proportion of copper and silver mixed to them.

[105] In the early days of the Msulim rule in Kāśmīra, bullion appears as a medium of exchange (Jonarāja, 1077 sq., Bombay ed.). It is likely that bullion took the place of minted coins in an earlier period too, specially in commercial transactions with foreign countries.

[106] *Kalāvilāsa*, II, 5, 7; *Samayamātṛkā*, VIII, 80.

[107] *R.T.*, IV, 617.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION

The social set up of a country is partially reflected in its contemporary administrative system which does never entirely depend on the whims and caprices of an individual ruler, however great he might be. In the history of civilization societies were born earlier than States; and in the life of man the society comes first and the State next. But the two are closely interlinked, as our thought and action are interlinked and each modifies the other in a mysterious and imperceptible way. A thorough acquaintance with the administration of a State leads a good deal to the study of its social background. No set formulas can determine once for all the mode of a country's government; the exigencies of time and place are amongst the most important factors. The change in the ideas and ideals of a nation inevitably brings in a change in the social sphere which in its turn modifies the political machinery set up by the king as the representative of the people. To know ancient Kāśmīra's system of government would be to know something of its social make-up.

No work on polity delineates the art of Government of ancient Kāśmīra. Nor is there any inscription which can be utilized to trace the origin and development of her administrative machinery. All that we have, in case of Kāśmīra, include a few literary sources which in themselves do not deal with the administration of the country, but incidentally furnish some scattered informations which help us to get up an idea of it.

I

Nothing definite is known of the administrative machinery of Kāśmīra as it worked in the dawn of history. Perhaps it started with some tribal patriarchal or matriarchal type of self-government as found in the history of many other parts of the world. For lack of concrete evidence, no assertion can be made on the point.

If Hiuen Tsang and Kalhaṇa are to be believed, Kāśmīra was included in Aśoka's empire. Possibly the Maurya system of administration was in vogue at the time. Kalhaṇa, however, gives the credit of the introduction of new administrative measures in Kāśmīra, not to Aśoka, but to his son Jalauka. According to him, upto the time of Jalauka the government of Kāśmīra was of the same type as that of other States. There were seven chief officials: the judge, the revenue superintendent, the treasurer, the commander of the army, the envoy, the *purohita* and the astrologer. Jalauka increased the number of offices (*karmasthāna*) into eighteen and by this act inaugurated the constitutional system of Yudhiṣṭhira[1]. Kalhaṇa is silent about the names of the eighteen offices which were created by Aśoka's son. Some scholars think that these eighteen offices evidently correspond to the 'eighteen *tīrthas*' or court officials mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, viz., *mantrin*, *purohita*, *yuvarāja*, *senāpati*, *dvārapāla*, *antarveśika*, *kārāgārādhikārin*, *dravyasañcayakṛt*, *samnidhātṛ*, *pradeṣṭṛ*, *nagarādhyakṣa*, *kāryanirmāṇakṛt*, *dharmādhyakṣa*, *sabhādhyakṣa*, *daṇḍapati*, *durgapāla*, *rāṣṭrāntapāla*, and *aṭavipāla*.[2] In the absence of any corroborative evidence, it is difficult to say how far the administrative informations supplied by Kalhaṇa, for the period prior to Jalauka's accession, as well as of his new innovations in the legal administration of the country, tally to real facts.

Kalhaṇa says that the eighteen *karmasthānas* created by Jalauka existed upto the time of Lalitāditya.[3] He also mentions the names of few of the minor offices which had come into existence in the meantime. One of these was the office of the *aśvaghāsakāyastha* (fodderer for the horses), a position held for sometime by Durlabhavardhana.[4] Another was that of the *nagarādhipa* (city prefect).[5] Kalhaṇa speaks of the city prefect of Candrāpīḍa's time named Calitaka as *sarvādhikaraṇasthairyocchettā*[6]. The exact meaning of this Sanskrit term is not clear and it is difficult to say whether it had anything to do with an official of the State.

II

The Karkoṭa king Lalitāditya seems to have made some improvement of the existing administrative machinery of the State. He is said to have created five new functionaries of high status, viz., *mahāpratīhārapīdā*, *mahāsāṁdhivigraha*, *mahāśvaśālā*, *mahābhāṇḍāgāra* and *mahāsādhanabhāga*.[7] The five *karmasthānas* taken together was known by the name of *pañcamahāśabda* and this title was assumed by the officer presiding over all these departments.[8] Thus Mitraśarman who was at first merely a *sāṁdhivigrahika* (minister for peace and war, had the title of *pañcamahāśabda* bestowed upon him by king Lalitāditya as a token of his faithful service.[9] During the reign of Jayāpīḍa, a minister named Jayadatta held the office of the *pañcamahāśabda.*[10] In the last days of the Karkoṭa regime, when the maternal uncles of the weak ruler Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa had come to share with the young king the sway over Kāśmīra, the eldest of them, Utpalaka, took the office of the *pañcamahāśabda* while his other brothers seized the other offices.[11] According to some scholars the term *pañcamahāśabda* as used in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* does not signify any particular office, but is merely an honorific title bestowed upon them who could make public appearance with the playing of five musical instruments.[12] The term *pañcamahāśabda*, as used in the Kanarese inscriptions and perhaps also in the Gupta inscriptions, may be interpreted in that light, as identical with *pañcamahāvādya*, but in the valley of Kāśmīra, it was undoubtedly a term which had the meaning of five *karmasthānas.*[13]

Jayāpīḍa added two more offices to the existing administrative machinery. One of these was the *dharmādhikarana*, apparently the department of justice,[14] and the other was the office of the *calagañja* (moving treasury).[15] The creation of a mobile exchequer became necessary to serve on expeditions when the king's own treasury (*gañja*) was far away.[16]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we come across the name of an accounts office called *śeḍa* during the last days of the Karkoṭa regime. According to Kalhaṇa, Ajitāpīḍa, a king, obtained food and dress from the income of the fifth account offce, which received, the surplus from the other four accounts offices, called *śeḍa* etc.[17] Kalhaṇa does not mention the names of other four accounts-offices, but, if the glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka is to be believed, they were named as *śālasthula*, *namelyānaka*, *mithana* and *navagrāmādi*[18]. These names were not current in Mughal times when Bhaṭṭa Hāraka wrote his glossess; he probably copied these terms from some earlier source. As regards the administrative function of the *śeḍa* office, no information is available.

Kalhaṇa's account throws some light on the central administrative machinery of the Karkoṭa period but it does not tell us anything about the town or village administration of the time. Though the poet-historian mentions the name of city-prefect of Candrāpīḍa's time, yet the functions of this offce are not made out clearly. Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvyam* written during the Karkoṭa king Jayāpīḍa's reign, however, tends to show that *nagaraprabhus* were censor of morals and collectors of fines from the prostitutes for violation of State prescribed moral laws.[19] It was possibly one of the various duties which the *nagarādhyakṣas* had to perform in connection with the administration of the towns.

III

The Utpala period marks further increase in the number of State offices, particularly in the department of revenue and taxation. The two new administrative departments created by Śaṁkaravarman were *aṭṭapatibhāga* (the office charged with share of the law of the market) and *gṛhakṛtya* (office concerned with domestic affairs).[20] The first was probably concerned with the collection of taxes on market shops, artificiers, etc. About the function and organisation of the second office during Śaṁkaravarman's time, all that we learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is that it was placed in charge of a treasurer (*gañjavara*) and five secretaries (*divira*) and that Śaṁkaravarman collected revenue for this office by deducting or adding to the due weights, by fines on the villages and similar other imposts.[21] Kalhaṇa gives a detailed account of the fiscal exactions made by Śaṁkaravarman. It is said that he took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal wood and other articles of worhsip on the plea that they were the king's legal share of the selling price. Then again, he plundered straightway sixty-four temples under pretext of exercising supervision over them. He resumed the villages belonging to the temples after paying compensatory allowances (*pratikāra*) to their possessors. And when paying the compensatory allowance, he reduced the weight of the scales by one-third. He put down all opposition by saying that the deductions were made on account of food-supply, cost of woollen cloaks, etc., and that the temple *pariṣads* were still receiving more than their due annual allowance. Lastly, Śaṁkaravarman introduced for the first time the well known system of forced carriages of loads (*rūḍhābhāroḍhi*) which was of thirteen kinds.[22] When the villagers failed to carry the loads, he fined them for one year the value of the load calculated according to the highest price in the region concerned. After that he fined in the same way all the villagers enroute to the destination without any fault of their own.[23] The two new revenue offices created by Śaṁkaravarman were evidently required to collect the taxes obtained from such financial exactions.

The kingdom of Kāśmīra seems to have reached a financial crisis as a result of Śaṁkaravarman's unsuccessful foreign expeditions and the king was led to adopt these new methods of exaction to replenish the exhausted treasury. Kalhaṇa also speaks in the same strain, 'Losing most of his treasure by the distractions to which he abandoned himself, he carried off again and again, by skilfully designed exactions, whatever the gods and others owned'.[24]

The special methods of taxation adopted by Śaṁkaravarman, however, were abandoned by the rulers who followed him, but they retained some of the new revenue offices established by him of which the *Gṛhakṛtya* was one.

The poet historian of Kāśmīra says that by levying contributions for the monthly pay of the *skandakas* and *grāmakāyasthas*, Śaṁkaravarman drove the villagers to poverty.[25] The exact meaning of the word *skandaka* is not known, though this officer seems to have existed even as late as the time of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063).[26] Stein considers him to be 'the village headman, the modern Muquaddam or Lambardar, who as the person directly responsible for the payment of the revenue, has since old days been an important factor in rural administration'.[27] The functions of the *grāmakāyastha* also are not stated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. But Stein thinks that he is 'in all probability the official ancestor of the present Patwari. The latter is the village accountant, who keeps the papers showing the area of the holdings of the villagers, with their revenue assessment, etc.'[28] In one passage of his book the poet-historian of Kāśmīra relates that when the Tantrins were enjoying supreme power in the kingdom, the kings of Kāśmīra were in their service and tried to oust each other like *grāmakāyasthas*, by offering greater and greater bribes (*R.T.*, V, 265). From this passage it is clear that the posts of the *grāmakāyashas* in ancient Kāśmīra were not stable and they used to oust each other by offering greater and greater bribes, presumably to the authority, who appointed them.

Though the names of the *skandakas* and *grāmakāyasthas* are first met with in the reign of Śaṁkaravarman, these posts, which were not created by him, evidently existed from an ancient period. It is significant that Śaṁkaravarman paid the wages of these officers from contributions levied on the villagers. In earlier times their wages seem to have been paid from other heads of income, presumably from the king's exchequer.

The only other functionary of Śaṁkaravarman's time, known to us, is *dvārādhipaor* lord of the gates (*R.T.*, V, 214). He was undoubtedly the officer in charge of the defence of the passes (*dvāra*) leading into Kāśmīra. The powers and duties of this officer, who has been mentioned variously as *dvārapati*, *dvāreśa*, *dvārādhikārin* and *dvāranāyaka* may be seen from a number of passages occurring in different *taraṅgas* of Kalhaṇa's work. These passages will be discussed later on in connection with the administrative development of the valley.

The *gṛhakṛtya* office, which was created by Śaṁkaravarman, is again found in the reign of Cakravarman (A.D. 935) where it is said that the king placed one of his favourites called Śambhuvardhana, in charge of the *gṛhakṛtya* (*R.T.*, V, 301). The officer in charge of the *gṛhakṛtya*, was thus an important functionary of the State, who received his appointment direct from the king. Another important office of this period was the *akṣapaṭala*.[29] The superintendent of this office, like the officer in charge of the *gṛhakṛtya*, was also directly appointed by the king.[30] Regarding the functions of the *akṣapaṭala*, all that can be gleaned from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is that it was an office where land grants were executed by the recorder of official documents (*paṭṭopādhyāya*),[31] and that the Ekāṅga soldiers were appointed in this office from which they received their pay.[32] The glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka explains *akṣapaṭala* as the *gaṇanādhipatiṣṭhāna*[33] (office of the accountant-general), a meaning which receives partial corroboration from the context of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

In the period of the Utpalas, we also come across the name of an officer called *kampanādhipati*.[34] Stein's correct interpretation of the word as commander-in-chief (*R.T.*, Eng. tr. Vol. I, p. 232) sets at rest all speculations about the meaning of the term.[35]

The period, ranging from the fall of the Utpalas to the rise of the Lohara dynasty, shows a gradual development of the administrative system. Among the names of the officials met with in this period, there are *sarvādhikāra*, *maṇḍaleśa*, *kampaneśa*, *nagarādhikṛta*, *dvārapati*, *gañjeśa* and *adhikaraṇalekhaka*.

The name *mukhyamantrī* which about the end of the Utpala period denoted the prime-minister of the State is henceforth changed into the title of *sarvādhikāra* (charge of all offices) [36]. That the terms *sarvādhikāra* and *mukhyamantrī* are identical, is clear from some of the passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[37] *Sarvādhikāra's* position was 'above everybody' and he was directly chosen by the ruler.[38]

The term *maṇḍaleśa* first occurs in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in connection with the reign of Yaśaskara.[39] Though his duties are not specified there, a comparison with some of the passages of the last two books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* clearly shows that he was the governor in charge of a province.

The *kampaneśa*, also called *kampanādhipati*, *kampanapati* etc. continued to be one of the highest functionaries of the State during this period.[40] His expeditions carried out against neighbouring rulers strengthens the view expressed by Stein that he was the commander-in-chief.

Nagarādhikṛta is the designation given by Kalhaṇa to the city-prefect of Yaśaskara's time.[41] He seems to be the same officer as *nagarādhipa* of the Karkoṭa period. In the Karkoṭa period the officer was probably, as we have seen, in charge of the supervision of moral conduct of the citizens. Now we find him as a revenue officer. Thus Kalhaṇa relates that king Yaśaskara made a pile of money through four city-prefects who helped themselves in turn to money and were hanging about each others back.[42] Evidently Yaśaskara appointed four prefects in order to increase his revenue by the contributions which they had to offer in competition. Bhuyya, a contemporary city-prefect of queen Diddā, is said to have encouraged the queen in her religious edifications.[43] It is not possible to say definitely if the *nagarādhikṛta* was also in charge of public works and buildings of the city.

Several references to *dvārapati* during the period shows that he was a high functionary of the State and was used to undertake military operations.[44] *Gañjeśa* was the title of the officer in charge of the treasury.[45] A person named Sindhu founded a separate revenue office called *sindhugañja* during the reign of queen Diddā, for which special sources of revenue were assigned.[46]

The *adhikaraṇalekhaka* appears to be an official recorder.[47] According to the glossator Bhaṭṭa Hāraka, he is the official in whose presence the sale of a piece of land is concluded and who after measuring the land draws up the deed.[48] The glossator's explanation receives corroboration from the context of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

V

Under the Lohara dynasties, the administrative system of Kāśmīra becomes more elaborate, with various departments and graded officials.

As in the preceding periods, the prime officer of the State was the *sarvādhikāra* (chief minister). During the reign of Ananta, this office was held by Haladhara.[49] He was succeeded by Jayānanda in the next reign.[50] Among others who occupied this post Kalhaṇa mentions Vāmana, Bimba, Śṛṅgāra and Gauraka.[51] From Kalhaṇa's account of these *sarvādhikāras* it appears that they were second to none in the kingdom except the king. At times the prime minister dictated the policy of the State and if the king was weak or ineffective it was he who exercised the supreme power of the Government.

During the Lohara period, the whole kingdom of Kāśmīra was divided into several *rājyas* for administrative purposes. The *rājyas* were divided into several *visayas* and the *visayas* again were further sub-divided into *grāmas* or villages.

The kingdom of Kāśmīra was divided into two major units, Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya from an early time. In the Lohara period a third *rājya* was added to them, the kingdom of the Lohara. A governor appears to have been placed over each of these administrative units with the title of *maṇḍaleśa* or *maṇḍaleśvara*. One Ānanda was the *maṇḍaleśa* of Maḍavarājya during the reign of Harṣa.[52] Among the governors of the Lohara kingdom, Kalhaṇa mentions the names of Kandarpa, Bhāgika, Preman and Harṣaṭa.[53]

Both Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya were sub-divided into a number of *viṣayas*, which correspond to the *parganās* of the modern times. The names of the ancient *viṣayas* so far known, have been referred to in Chapter I, and need not be re-stated here.

If Kṣemendra is to be believed, the officer at the head of the *viṣayas* was *mārgapati*. His function as such was the supervision of the *viṣaya* and the villages lying within it, checking of their accounts and inspection of roads. The name *mārgapati* probably originated from his last named duty. He also appears to be an executive officer with magisterial powers to decide civil and criminal cases.[54]

The village administration was carried on by the *grāmadivira*. His seems to have been the duty of the keeping of papers showing the area of the holding of the villagers with their revenue, assessment etc. According to Kṣemendra, he could be appointed or dismissed by the *mārgapati*.[55] This tends to corroborate Kalhaṇa's statement regarding the *grāmakāyasthas* of the former periods, who ousted each other by giving greater and greater bribes to the authority responsible for their appointments.

The administrative machinery of the Lohara period appears to have been divided into several departments of which at least three, the departments of revenue, judiciary and the army are clearly recognisable.

The head of the revenue administration was the officer called the *gṛhakṛtyādhipati* or *gṛhakṛtyādhikārin* or *gṛhakṛtya-mahattama*. It seems from Kṣemendra that this post, which was created at the time of Śaṁkaravarman, had become one of the most important offices in his time and it was the highest ambition of every revenue officer to occupy this position. All domestic expenses, such as grants to temples, Brāhmaṇas, the poor and the strangers, grants for the fodder of the domestic animals and salaries of royal servants could be incurred only with his consent. Seven officers worked in his office and he had the prerogative of having officers under him to his own choice.[56] Kalhaṇa mentions a class of officers called *mahattama* whose status and functions are not clearly stated.[57] It is not unlikely that this is an abbreviated form of the *gṛhakṛtya mahattama*.

According to Kṣemendra the revenue officer next to the *gṛhakṛtyamahattama* was the *paripālaka*. He seems to have collected taxes from the villagers. He is also said to have ravaged temples for filling up the royal treasury which is undoubtedly a continuation of the policy once started by Śaṁkaravarman.[58] The clerk-in-chief of *paripālaka* was called *lekhakopādhyāya*. He was in charge of the confidential official records. Kṣemendra describes him as a tremendous writer who can draft two hundred documents at a time and can issue them atonce. He also possessed a thorough knowledge of accountancy.[59] Another officer, *gañjadivira*, who worked under the *paripālaka* was the superintendent of finance having control over the treasury. He seems to be the same officer as Kalhaṇa calls by the name of *gañjavara* or *gañjeśa*.[60] According to Kṣemendra he prepares a budget of income and expenditure for six months and submits it before his master *paripālaka*, which, after his approval, is given effect to.[61]

Another officer of the revenue department was probably the *śaulkika* who was posted on the frontier routes and collected customs duties over commodities coming and going through the watch stations.[62]

In the judicial department, the highest officer was the *rājasthāna* or *rājasthānādhikāra*.[63] A critical study of the passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* dealing with this officer tends to show that he was probably the chief-justice of the kingdom. Below the chief-justice, there were other subordinate judges who appear to be denoted by the term *tantrapati*.[64] *Rājasthānīyamantrinaḥ* and *rājagṛhyas* mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* may also stand for subordinate judicial officers (*R.T.*, VII, 1501, VIII, 756).

In the war office, the foremost officer was the *kampanādhipati* (also called *kampaneśa*, *kampanādhipa*, etc.) who, as in the preceding periods, held the position of the commander-in-chief.[65] Another important officer was the *dvārādhipa* (also called dvārapati etc.)[66] whom we have met as early as the Utpala period. Kalhaṇa clearly points out that in the Lohara period he was in charge of the defence of the passes leading into Kāśmīra and had a general command over the watch stations established on them. In one place of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it is said, that the charge of the *dvāra* required soldierly qualities and implied rough duties.[67] Bimba, who held charge as lord of the gate, lost his life in fight with the Khaśa who lived immediately to the south and west of the Kāśmīra valley.[68] Kandarpa, who was the *dvārādhikāra* of king Kalaśa and Harṣa, kept himself constantly engaged in war with Rājapurī. He also tried to prevent the escape of a rebel prince Vijayamalla from Kāśmīra by closing every route.[69] Udaya, who held the position of lord of the gate under king Jayasiṁha, harassed the enemy forces of Lohara by continuous attacks.[70] The great importance attached by the ancient Kāśmīrians on the defence of the frontier passes can also be marked from Alberuni's (11th century A.D.) account. Speaking of his contemporary Kāśmīrians he says that 'they are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and, therefore, take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence, it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people'.[71] The person in charge of the gates must naturally have been a very responsible military officer of the State and in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* he is ranked along with *kampaneśa* and other highest officials. Throughout the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* successive lords of the gate exercise military duites and we never find Kalhaṇa mentioning more than one person holding that post at the same time. This clearly shows that this office could be held by only one person at a time. The Kāśmīrians had very wisely realised the value of unified control of frontier stations under an able man.

Under the lords of gates, there was an important class of military officers, charged with the defence of the watch stations. They were called *draṅgādhipa* (master of the watch stations).[72] Theirs were the duties of guarding the approaches to the valley.[73]

Among other officers of the Lohara regime, mention may be made of the city-prefect (*nagarādhipa*, *nagarādhikṛta*). He was charged with various duties. Fines were imposed by the city-prefects on the house-holders in case of immoral conduct on the part of a married woman.[74] He punished the persons who had carnal intercourse with dancing girls, received into households as wedded wives.[75] Apparently, the *nagarādhipa* was censor of morals.[76] The maintenance of law and order of the city seems to be one of his duties, and one of the city-prefects, Vijayasiṁha, distinguished himself during the reign of Kalaśa by suppressig all thieves.[77] In times of emergency the *nagarādhipa* had to perform some military duties in connection with the defence of the town. The town-prefect Nāga was in charge of large force and was entrusted with the defence of the city, when Sussala and Uccala attacked king Harṣa.[78] Another city-prefect, Janaka was called by Sussala to suppress a revolt of his troops, which broke out in the city. (*R.T.*, VIII, 814).

Daṇḍanāyaka or *daṇḍādhikārin* was perhaps the chief of the police department.[79] *Mahattara* might have been an officer belonging to the personal staff of the king.[80] There was a regular system of espionage and the spies were called by such names as *cakrikā*, *piśuna* and *puṁścalaka*.[81]

The increased number of officials and presence of various small administrative departments indicate the State interference over individual lives and properties. The reasons for the growth and development of the bureaucracy in the Lohara period have already been discussed in the chapter on social history and need not be repeated here.

The administrative machinery of the post-Lohara period, on the whole, seems to be the same as in the preceding period. Jonarāja mentions the designations of some of the officers whom we meet in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. But the informations supplied by him are too scanty to give a connected picture of the administrative system of the last days of the Hindu rule.

The relation between the State and different classes of people have been dealt in other chapters. A few general observations about the administrative sytem of ancient Kāśmīra, however, may be made here.

It seems that the king of Kāśmīra was an absolute ruler in the true sense of the term. Divinity was attributed to him. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the king was a part and parcel of Lord Śiva.

Kaśmīrāḥ pārvatī tatra rājā gñeyo śivāṁśayaḥ ।
Nāvagñeyaḥ sa dustohapi viduṣā bhūtimicchhatā ॥
(*R.T.*, I, 72)

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* expresses the same view.

Kāśmīrāyaṁ tathā rājā tvayā jñeyo harāṁśajaḥ ।
Tasyāvajñā na kartavyā satataṁ bhūtim icchatā ॥
(*Nīlamata*, ed. DeVreese, 237).

The *Mahāvastuavadāna* of the Buddhists contains the details of the election of a king who, on being hailed by all as the lord, is called Sarva Mahāśākhyo. The same note is echoed in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The king is a great Śākya (*mahāśākya*). He can not be hurt by a man. He is also the source of all light.

Mahāśākyaḥ sa nṛpatīḥ
na śakyo bādhituṁ tvayā ।
Tasmindṛṣte tu kalyāṇi
bhavitā te tamaḥkṣayaḥ ॥ (*R.T.*, I, 141).

But though the king was regarded as a part and parcel of God and though in theory his powers were unlimited, there was always some sort of practical check over his authority. The first check was supplied by the chief minister and other ministers, whose will, as is evident from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the king could not wholly ignore. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, their opinion was to be solicited in case of the selection of a new monarch. In the legendary period, at least two kings, Meghavāhana and Mātṛgupta, were placed on the throne of Kāśmīra by the ministers.[82] When queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904-906) wanted to invest some fit person with the royal power, she had to seek the permission of the ministers.[83] Before his death king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48) also had to consecrate Varṇaṭa as king with the approval of the ministers.[84]

A second check on the king's power was furnished by the *purohita* corporation of the kingdom who resorted to hunger-strikes (*prāyopaveśana*), whenever any action taken by the king went against their own interest or against the interest of the country. During the interregnum after Śūravarman II (A.D. 939), it was their hunger-strike which forced the Brāhmaṇas of the valley to select Yaśaskara as the king of Kāśmīra.[85] In the reign of queen Diddā (A.D. 980/81-1003), we find the Brāhmaṇas holding fast for removing Tuṅga, the *sarvādhikāra*, from his office.[86] To bring about the fall of Tuṅga, the Brāhmaṇas and the *purohitas* of sacred shrines started a solemn fast in the reign of Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028).[87] King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) had to exempt the members of the *purohita* corporation from the forced carriage of loads as they undertook *prāyopaveśana*[88] Once king Sussala (A.D. 1112-20) neglected his princely duties, whereupon all his good officers deserted him and the Ḍāmaras started oppressing the people. The Brāhmaṇas seeing no other alternative resorted to fast to bring the king to his senses.[89] Thus kings were often compelled to take measures they did not like.[90]

A third check on the king's autocracy was provided by the growing power of the Ḍāmaras, the nature of which has been fully discussed in the chapter on society.

In the historical period at least, we do not meet with any ruler of Kāśmīra, who tries to determine a new administrative set up for the country. There were some, no doubt, who made additions and alterations here and there but no genius, who could usher an overhaul change into the system, ever sprang up. The king of Kāśmīra was certainly the chief patron of the State, of the society, of the religion and of the culture, but he did not create them. On the other hand he was throughout guided by the age-old customs, usages and traditions.

The administrative machinery of ancient Kāśmīra was well-developed, organized and efficient. But that does not mean that all the officers of the State were honest and dutiful. In fact both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa, our principal authorities on early Kāśmīrīan history, are eloquent in speaking of the systematic oppressions which were carried on by the Kāyasthas (officers of the Government) in different periods.[91] The powerful Ḍāmaras, the wealthy merchants and other richer sections of the society were more or less free from their exactions. But the common man, the tiller of the soil and the humble worker, had to bear the brunt of their inhuman exactive measures.

ADMINISTRATION

The State was not conscious about the poverty and wants of the poorer sections. Personally some of the kings might have donated *agrahāras* to the Brāhmaṇas and bestowed wealth upon some of their favourites to remove their economic disabililty, but the State did not take any responsibility for the poverty-striken people and never tried to ameliorate their lot. Perhaps the poverty and distress in the lower stratum of the society were natural outcomes of a feudal bureaucratic system.

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[1] *R.T.*, I, 118-20.

[2] Jolly, *Weber-Festgabe*, p. 84; also *Mahābhārata*, ii, 38.

[3] *R.T.*, IV, 141.

[4] *R.T.*, III, 489.

[5] *R.T.*, IV, 81.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *R.T.*, IV, 142-43.

[8] *R.T.*, IV, 140, 142-43.

[9] *R.T.*, IV, 141.

[10] *R.T.*, IV, 512.

[11] *R.T.*, IV, 679-680.

[12] Aiyanger, *J.B.B.R.A.S.,N.S.*, Vol. I, 1925.

[13] For the refutation of Aiyanger's theory and proper interpretation of the term *pañcamahāśabda* in case of Kāśmīra, see '*Pañcamahāśabda* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*', Padmanath Bhattacharya, *J.B.B.R.A.S.,N.S.*, Vol. VII, 1931.

[14] *R.T.*, IV, 588.

[15] *R.T.*, IV, 589.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *R.T.*, IV, 691.

[18] *R.T.* (Eng. tr.), Stein, Vol. I, p. 182.

[19] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, R.A.S.B. ed., verse 400.

[20] *R.T.*, V, 167.

[21] *R.T.*, V, 176-177.

[22] The thirteen kinds of corvee, mentioned by Kalhaṇa can not be specified.

[23] *R.T.*, V, 168-174.

[24] *R.T.*, V, 166.

[25] *R.T.*, V, 175.

[26] *Samayamātṛkā*, VI, 15.

[27] *R.T.* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, p. 210.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *R.T.*, V, 301.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *R.T.*, V, 398.

[32] *R.T.*, VII, 162, 1604, 1609.

[33] *R.T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, p. 223.

[34] *R.T.*, V, 447.

[35] Wilson, *Essay*, p. 73; Troyer, *R.T.*, iii, p. 569; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, iii, p. 1049.

[36] *R.T.*, VI, 199.

[37] *R.T.*, VIII, 2360, 2460, 2470.

[38] *R.T.*, VI, 333.

[39] *R.T.*, VI, 73.

[40] *R.T.*, VI, 228, 230, 233, 237, 259.

[41] *R.T.*, VI, 70.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *R.T.*, VI, 296.

[44] *R.T.*, VI, 179, 281, 325.

[45] *R.T.*, VI, 266.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *R.T.*, VI, 30.

[48] *R.T.* (tr. Stein), Vol., I, p. 238.

[49] *R.T.*, VII, 208.

[50] *R.T.*, VIII, 364.

[51] *R.T.*, VII, 568; VIII, 560, 862, 2360.

[52] *R.T.*, VII, 1304.

[53] *R.T.*, VII, 996, VIII, 1222, 1631, 2029.

[54] *Narmamālā* (ed. M. Kaul), I, 97, 127.

[55] *Ibid.*, I, 128, 140.

[56] *Ibid.*, I, 32, 50; *R.T.*, VII, 42.

[57] *R.T.*, VII, 438, 1106, 1170, 1176, VIII, 440, 560.

[58] *Narmamālā*, I, 62-70.

[59] *Ibid.*, I, 71-82.

[60] *Ibid.*, I, 83; *R.T.*, V, 177, VIII, 473.

[61] *Narmamālā*, I, 83-96.

[62] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 102; *R.T.*, VII, 2010.

[63] *R.T.*, VII, 601, VIII, 181, 1046, 1982, 2618, 2624.

[64] The term *tantrapati* occurs only once in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (*R.T.*, VIII, 2422) where his functions are not clearly stated. Any doubt as to the meaning of the term, however, is set at rest by the explanation of Jonarāja, who distinctly mentions '*bṛhattantrapati*' as a '*dharmādhikārin*' or judge.

[65] *R.T.*, VII, 154, 267, 365, 399, 579, 887, 923, 1319, 1362, 1366, VIII, 177, 180, 627, 647, 652, 685, 698, 860, 960, 1046, 1624, 1659, 1660, 2190, 2205, 2420, 2758, 2807, 2868, 3322.

[66] *R.T.*, VII, 216, 223, 364, 576, 578, 584, 595, 887, 912, 995, 1172, 1177, 1178, 1301, 1319, 1361; VIII, 21, 178, 179, 185, 293, 301, 573, 633, 756, 790, 1042, 1482, 1832, 1927, 1963, 2090, 2254, 2354, 2421, 2487, 2493, 2501, 2526, 2662, 2788, 2844, 2852, 2894, 2937.

[67] *R.T.*, VIII, 422.

[68] *R.T.*, VII, 216-217.

[69] *R.T.*, VII, 576, 912, 971.

[70] *R.T.*, VIII, 1832, 1927, 2281.

[71] *India* (tr. Sachau), XVIII, p. 206.

[72] *R.T.*, VIII, 1578.

[73] *R.T.*, VII, 1352; VIII, 2507, 2702, 2803.

[74] *R.T.*, VIII, 3336.

[75] *R.T.*, VIII, 3338.

[76] The *nagarādhikṛtas* seem to be censor of morals in the Karkoṭa period too; *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (R.A.S.B. ed.), 400.

[77] *R.T.*, VII, 580.

[78] *R.T.*, VII, 1542.

[79] *R.T.*, VII, 591, VIII, 640.

[80] *R.T.*, VII, 659.

[81] *Narmamālā* (ed. M. Kaul), p. 6.

[82] *R.T.*, III, 2, 233-240.

[83] *R.T.*, V, 250.

[84] *R.T.*, VI, 90-91.

[85] *R.T.*, V, 468.

[86] *R.T.*, VI, 336-343.

[87] *R.T.*, VII, 13.

[88] *R.T.*, VII, 1088.

[89] *R.T.*, VIII, 658.

[90] For other similar instances see *R.T.*, VIII, 768 sqq., 2733

[91] *Narmamālā*, I; *R.T.*, IV, 621-630, V, 181, 184, 439, VII, 1226, VIII, 85-87 etc.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION

The earliest inhabitants of Kāśmīra probably cherished some aboriginal beliefs, the details of which are not traceable now. The snake-cult or Nāga-worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period and undoubtedly had been one of the earliest religions of the land. In the third century B.C., Buddhism seems to have made some headway into Kāśmīra, converted a large number of people and overshadowed the Nāga cult which ultimately sunk into oblivion. Among Hindu gods, Śiva either originated or entered the valley sometime before the faith of the Śākya prince made its entrance and was later followed by Viṣṇu, Sūrya and other Brahminical gods and goddesses. A brief history of the different types of religious cults and beliefs of early Kāśmīra, may be sketched as follows.

NĀGA-WORSHIP

Kāśmīra was one of the principal centres of serpent-worship in India. Though detailed evidence is lacking, there is no doubt that snake-worship prevailed in the valley from a very early period.

Regarding the exact date when the snake-cult was prevalent in the land, no direct testimony is available. But there are reasons to believe that in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., it might have been the principal religion of Kāśmīra . In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, it is said that Aśoka's adviser Moggaliputta Tissa sent Majjhantika to preach Buddhism in Kāśmīra. When the *śramaṇa* reached the valley, he found that Aravāḷa, the king of the Nāgas, was ruling over it. Aravāḷa was destroying the corns of the country by hail storm. Majjhantika, however, due to his divine powers remained unaffected from rains and storms. This made the Nāga king furious who sent lighting and struck rocks against the Buddhist monk in order to kill him. But all these went in vain. Then convinced of the great powers of Majjhantika, the Nāga king Aravāḷa together with his followers submitted before the monk and accepted Buddhism. This was followed by the conversion into Buddhism of a large number of Nāga worshippers of Kāśmīra-Gandhāra.[1]

RELIGION

Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kāśmīra in the 7th century A.D. relates that according to the native records, Kāśmīra was originally a dragon lake.[2] A very detailed and vivid account of how the *arhat* Madhyāntika (apparently Majjhantika) rescued the valley of Kāśmīra from the Nāgas, established there the religion of Buddha and settled 500 *arhats* in the country, has been preserved in the Chinese *Vinaya* of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin sect.[3] The Tibetan scholar Bu-ston, who composed his famous history of Buddhism in the 14th century A.D., points out that when Madhyāntika went to Kāśmīra to preach Buddhism, he found the Nāgas presiding in the valley. They at first gave a tough opposition to Madhyāntika, but at the end, the Buddhist monk succeeded in subduing the troublesome Nāgas.[4]

That Nāga-worship prevailed in early Kāśmīra receives confirmation not only from the accounts of Ceylon, China and Tibet but also from native literatures.

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, probably a work of the 7th or 8th century A.D., records at great length how Kāśmīra was created out of water and left to the care of the Nāgas of whom Nīla, the son of Kaśyapa, was the chief. According to this work, in the beginning, human beings could dwell in the valley for six months of the year, i.e., during the summer. In winter, the land was occupied by the Piśācas and human beings had to leave the valley due to excessive cold. Once Nīla was satisfied with a Brāhmaṇa called Candradeva and agreed at his prayer that men should be allowed to live in Kāśmīra during the winter also. The Nāga king also disclosed to him the rites which were to be observed by the future human inhabitants if they were to live permanently in the valley.

Most of the rites prescribed by Nīla are concerned with the nature of worship of popular deities. But there are some festivals which are particularly connected with the worship of Nāga or serpent. Thus Nīla was worshipped on the festival of the first snowfall. Nīla and the Nāgas were also propitiated on the Irāmañjarīpujā festivity which took place in the month of *Caitra*. Another ceremony called Varuṇapañcamī was held on the fifth day of *Bhādra* and was connected with the worship of serpent king Nīla.

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* also records the names of the principal Nāgas worshipped in Kāśmīra, the total number of which was 527. The four *dikpālas* of Kāśmīra, mentioned by the author of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* were four Nāgas—Bindusāra in the east, Śrīmadaka in the south, Elāpatra in the west and

Uttaramānasa in the north. From a remote period, great importance must have been attached to the worship of the Nāgas as is shown by the long account of them given in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*. A large number of temples, built near some of the famous springs and undoubtedly early origin of the pilgrimages directed to them, clearly point out the popularity of the Nāga-cult in ancient Kāśmīra. The Nāgas were supposed, according to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, to reside in the lakes and springs of the valley. Even now names of places like Vernāg, Anantanāg, Sernāg, etc. show traces of ancient Nāga beliefs.

That the Nāgas were eminently popular deities in the happy valley, is also testified to by Kalahṇa's Chronicle. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kāśmīra was a land protected by Nīla, the lord of all Nāgas.[5] Even when Buddhism had undermined the Nāga beliefs, one of its early kings Gonanda III is said to have reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worship in honour of the Nāgas, as they had been before.[6] There is also a story of Suśravas Nāga, and his alliance with a Brāhmaṇa is depicted with much details.[7] King Durlabhavardhana and his scions are ascribed to a family which, according to Kalhaṇa, was Nāga in its origin.[8] Nāga Mahāpadma, the tutelary deity of the Vular lake, is said to have showed king Jayāpīḍa, a mountain which yielded copper.[9] Another Nāga called Piṇḍāraka deluded the Darad chieftain Acalamaṅgala, who attacked the happy valley during the reign of Ananta.[10] Among the festivals connected with the Nāga-cult, Kalhaṇa speaks of the annual festival in honour of the great serpent king Takṣaka 'frequented by dancers and strolling players and thronged by crowds of spectators' which was celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha*.[11] Kṣemendra also refers to a Takṣakayātrā festival in his *Samayamātṛkā* (*Samayamātṛkā*, ii, 88).

That the Nāga-cult prevailed in the valley throughout the Hindu rule and even afterwards, seems to be corroborated by the account of Abul Fazal. He tells us that during the reign of Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) there were in Kāśmīra 45 places dedicated to the worship of Śiva, 64 to Viṣṇu, 3 to Brahmā and 22 to Durgā, but there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped.[12]

BUDDHISM

Buddhism seems to have obtained a footing in Kāśmīra as early as the 3rd century B.C. The Ceylonese chronicle

Mahāvaṁsa preserves an account of the introduction of Buddhism in the valley by Majjhantika which has been already noted.[13] That Buddhism was first preached in Kāśmīra by Madhyāntika and that he succeeded in making a large number of converts also receives confirmation from traditions recorded in the Tibetan work *Dul-va*[14] and the account of Hiuen Tsang.[15]

We learn from Kalhaṇa that Kāśmīra formed a part of the empire of Aśoka, who was a follower of Jina, i.e., Buddha.[16] The emperor built in the valley numerous *stūpas*,[17] some of which were existing as late as the time of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's visit.[18] The great emperor, who was zealous always in preaching and disseminating the religion of Buddha throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom and even beyond, seems to have tried his best to spread it in the secluded vale of Kāśmīra too.[19]

What happened to the state of Buddhism in Kāśmīra, after the death of Aśoka, we do not know. Probably in the 1st century B.C., Kāśmīra came under the occupation of the Greek king Menander.[20] He was first a lay devotee of Buddha but afterwards left his throne, joined the Saṅgha and at last became an *arhant*. He created a *vihāra* for his co-religionists which came to be known as Milindavihāra, after the name of its founder.[21]

The Buddhism of Kāśmīra entered its golden phase under the patronage of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka and his successors who came to occupy the valley about the end of the 1st century A.D. Kalhaṇa mentions that three Turuṣka, i.e., Kuṣāṇa kings, Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka ruled over Kāśmīra and founded three towns called Huṣkapura (mod. Huskur), Juṣkapura (mod. Juskar) and Kaniṣkapura (mod. Kanespur).[22] These Kuṣāṇa kings were given to acts of piety and built many *vihāras*, *maṭhas*, *caityas* and similar other structures.[23] During their powerful rule, the land of Kāśmīra was, to a great extent, under the possession of the Bauddhas, who, by practising the law of religious mendicancy, had acquired great renown.[24]

That Kāśmīra was a great centre of Buddhism under the Kuṣāṇas receives further corroboration from the fact that the fourth Buddhist council took place in Kāśmīra under the auspices of Kaniṣka. At the end of the council, Hiuen Tsang informs us, several expository commentaries were written on the *Sūtra*, *Vinaya*, and *Abhidharma*. The original text and its explanation came to be known as *Upadeśa-Śāstra* and *Vibhāṣā-Śāstra*. Kaniṣka had these treatises engraved on copper plates and deposited them at a *stūpa*, apparently situated in Kāśmīra.[25]

Many great Buddhist scholars resided in Kāśmīra during the reign of the Kuṣāṇas. Of these, Kalhaṇa mentions the name of Nāgārjuna who resided at Ṣaḍarahdvana, i.e., Harwan.[26] According to Chinese evidence Aśvaghoṣa, Vasuvandhu, Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta, Saṅghabhadra, Jinatrāta and many other scholars lived in Kāśmīra from the time of Kaniṣka onwards.[27]

The flourishing state of Buddhism in Kāśmīra at the end of the Kuṣāṇa period and afterwards is testified to by archaeological evidence. The site of Harwan yields Buddhist *stūpas*, bases of chapels, inscriptions containing the celebrated Buddhist creed *ye dharma*, etc. From the appearance of Kharoṣṭhī numerals on the brick tiles and from the Buddhist inscriptions written in Brāhmī characters of about the 4th century A.D., the Buddhist antiquarian objects of Harwan may be assigned to a period round about 300 A.D.[28] A number of terracotta figures, mainly busts or heads of Buddha, Bodhisattva and Buddhist monks have been recovered from another ancient site, Uṣkur (Huviṣkapura) and are assignable stylistically to the 4th or 5th century A.D.[29]

Not only the Kuṣāṇa kings, but local rulers of Kāśmīra also seem to have patronized the faith of Buddha in the early centuries of the Christian era. One of its early kings, Meghavāhana, prohibited the slaughter of animals in his kingdom.[30] He also stopped the killing of animals in sacrifices.[31] Amṛtaprabhā, the wife of the king, erected a *vihāra* for Buddhist monks, which was called Amṛtabhavana.[32] Many *vihāras* of renown were built by other queens.[33] Kalhaṇa compares the king with Jina, i.e., Buddha and also with Bodhisattvas.[34] All these probably indicate Meghavāhana's attachment to the faith of the Śākya prince.

During the reign of Pravarasena (*c.* 6th century A.D.) his maternal uncle Jayendra built a *vihāra* and erected a statue of the 'Great Buddha'.[35] Pravarasena, according to Kalhaṇa, was succeeded by his son Yudhiṣṭhira II.[36] Several ministers of his, who bore the names of Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta obtained distinction by erecting *vihāra* and *caityas*.[37] In the *vihāra* built by a queen of king Meghavāhana, a fine statue of Budhha was placed by Amṛtaprabhā, the wife of king Raṇāditya.[38]

RELIGION

Inspite of the legendary character of the early portions of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa's main contention that Buddhism received patronage from the local rulers of Kāśmīra during the early centuries of the Christian era, seems on the whole, to be based on facts. The Jayendravihāra, said to have been founded by Pravarasena's maternal uncle Jayendra, was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century and Ou-kong about the middle of the next century saw the *vihāra* of Amṛtabhavana, built by Amṛtaprabhā, queen of Meghavāhana, in a flourishing condition.[39]

A fairly reliable account of the condition of Buddhism in Kāśmīra from the 7th century onward has been furnished by the accounts of the Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsang and Ou-kong, the Chronicle of Kalhaṇa and some archaeological discoveries made at Gilgit, Pāndreṭhan and Paraspor.

Several Buddhist manuscripts were found out from a *stūpa* at Gilgit.[40] The script used in the manuscripts may be assigned to the 6th or 7th century A.D. One of the manuscripts reveals the name of a Śāhi king Śrīdeva Śāhi Surendra Vikramāditya Nanda who was apparently ruling over the Gilgit region when the manuscripts were deposited. Buddhism was thus flourishing on the northern part of Kāśmīra sometime about the end of the 6th century A.D. or in the early part of the next under the patronage of Śāhi rulers.

To about the same period as the manuscripts of Gilgit, may probably be assigned also a large number of Buddhist sculptures hailing from the village of Pāndreṭhan (ancient Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna). Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna was the capital of Kāśmīra from a very early date. It enjoyed the privilege of being the metropolis until about the end of the 6th century, A.D. when Pravarasena built a new city called Pravarasenapura (mod. Śrīnagar), which henceforth became the new capital of the valley. From stylistic consideration, the sculptural remains discovered at Pāndreṭhan seem to have belonged to a period when the old city was finally abandoned in favour of the new. Besides two Buddhist *stūpas* and the courtyard of a monastery, the objects of Buddhist antiquities found at Pāndreṭhan include two standing figures of Buddha, a seated statue of Buddha, one diademed and ornamented image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, another fragmentary sculptured relief of Buddha or Bodhisattva and lastly a relief representation of the birth of Siddhārtha.[41]

Hiuen Tsang paid a visit to Kāśmīra in 631 A.D. He saw in the valley about one hundred *saṅghārāmas* and five thousand Buddhist priests. There were four *stūpas* built by Aśoka, each of which contained relics of Tathāgata. Among the Buddhist *vihāras* visited by him specific mention is made of the Juṣkavihāra (mod. Uṣkur, near Bārāmūla) and Jayendra vihāra (founded by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of Pravarasana II). The Chinese pilgrim stayed in the court of Kāśmīra for a couple of years, during which period (with the help of the local clerks)[42] he took copies of a large number of Buddhist scriptures. Evidently, Kāśmīra was a great centre of Buddhism when Hiuen Tsang visited it.

Hiuen Tsang entered Kāśmīra during the period of the Karkoṭas. The kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty were followers of Hinduism and worshipped in general gods like Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya, all belonging to the Hindu pantheon. None the less, some of the monarchs of the dynasty also gave liberal patronage to the religion of Tathāgata. Hiuen Tsang was received with favour by one of its early kings, presumably Durlabhavardhana. Durlabha's queen Anaṅgalekhā built a Buddhist *vihāra*, which came to be known as Anaṅgabhavanavihāra.[43] Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa founded one Rājavihāra with a large quadrangle and a large *caitya* at Parihāsapura. At Huṣkapura, the noble minded king built another large *vihāra* with a *stūpa*.[44] A colossal copper image of Buddha was made by him, which is said to have reached upto the sky.[45] At Parihāsapura Caṅkuṇa, a Tukhāra minister of the king erected the Caṅkuṇavihāra, built a *stūpa* and placed there golden image of Jina, i.e., Buddha.[46] A second *vihāra*, together with a *caitya* was built by the minister at *adhiṣṭhānāntare*, evidently at Śrīnagara and in this *vihāra*, the minister put a brownish image of Buddha Sugata which was brought from Magadha on the shoulders of an elephant.[47] Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya, another celebrated monarch of the Karkoṭa family, set up three images of Buddha and a large *vihāra* at his newly founded town Jayapura.[48]

Archaeological excavations carried on at Parihāsapura, the city founded by Lalitāditya, have brought to light Buddhist structures—a *stūpa*, a monastery and a *caitya*. The *stūpa* has been identified as the *stūpa* of Caṅkuṇa, the monastery with the Rājavihāra built by Lalitāditya and the *caitya* with a large *caitya* said to have been founded by the same monarch. Among the sculptures discovered at Parihāsapura, there are two images of Bodhisattva and one of Buddha.[49] All these, prove to the hilt the popularity of Buddhism in the days of the Karkoṭas.

The thriving state of Buddhism in Kāśmīra, during the reign of the Karkoṭas, i.e., during the 7th or 8th centuries A.D.

is also attested to by the evidence of the Chinese traveller Ou-kong. Ou-kong came to Kāśmīra in 759 A.D. He spent four years in the valley in pilgrimages to holy sites and in studying Sanskrit. He learnt the *Śīlas* and the *Vinayas* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins at the *Moung-ti-vihāra*. The other *vihāras* referred to by him are *Ngo-mi-to-po-wan*, *Ngo-nan-i*, *Ki-tche*, *Nao-ye-le*, *Je-je*, *Ye-li-te-le* and *Ko-toan*.[50] While Hiuen Tsang saw about one hundred *vihāras*, Ou-kong noticed more than three hundred *vihāras* in Kāśmīra and innumerable *stūpas* and sacred images. This undoubtedly indicates a rise in the popularity of Buddhism in the valley during the period of the Karkoṭas.

Buddhism seems to have been overshadowed by the growing Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva faith which bacame predominant in the valley in the centuries following the Karkoṭa period. The dynasty of Utpala supplanted the Karkoṭas about the middle of the 9th century A.D. The founder of this dynasty, Avantivarman, (A.D. 855/56-883) was a staunch follower of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the architectural remains which have been discovered from the site of Avantipura, the town founded by the monarch, include some images of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other Brahminical gods, but not a single figure of Buddha or Bodhisattva. But though Buddhism was in the background, the opinion cherished by some scholars that from the middle of the 9th century on till the advent of the 11th century, the Buddhists fell on evil days and all the kings were anti-Buddhistic in spirit[51] seems to be an extreme view yet to be established beyond doubt. Except Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958) and Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), no king of this period is known to have cherished any anti-Buddhistic feeling in their heart. As for Kṣemagupta, we learn from Kalhaṇa that he burnt down a Buddhist monastery named Jayendravihāra.[52] From this decaying *vihāra*, he took away the brass image of Buddha Sugata. The stones of the temple, he utilized for a Śiva temple in his own name.[53] Kṣemagupta further confiscated thirty-two villages which belonged to the burnt *vihāra* and gave them to Khaśa ruler.[54] But the wrath of a cruel eccentric king against a single particular Buddhist monastery should not be taken as an instance of systematic policy of religious persecution adopted by the State against the Buddhists. Moreover, it may be noted, that if Kṣemagupta had followed an anti-Buddhistic policy, he would have destroyed many of the Buddhist vihāras of Kāśmīra. But as we learn from Kalhaṇa, the king burnt only a solitary Buddhist monastery; and this incident may suggest at most the king's ill-feelings towards a particular monastery which might have been guilty of some gross misdemeanour. It is unfair to infer from this single instance, that the king pursued a policy of anti-Buddhism, when we have no other information to support the view. A remarkably fine statuette of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi is now preserved in the Pratap Singh Museum, Śrīnagar. An inscription engraved at the base mentions its consecration in the reign of queen Diddā (A.D. 980-1003). That Buddha was not looked with disapproval in the 11th century A.D. receives further corroboration from the writings of Kṣemendra who says that during his time, the birth day of Buddha was observed with great ceremony in the valley.[55]

As for Harṣa, it may be said that the king was not merely an anti-Buddhist, but a man having no sympathy for any religion whatsoever. If he plundered the statues of Buddha, he confiscated alike the images of the Brahminical gods and goddesses. And for all these works of plunder, spoliation and confiscation, the king was actuated not by his enmity towards any particular sect, but by his greed or rather need for money.

Buddhism received patronage from king Jayasiṁha, who ascended the throne of Kāśmīra in 1128 A.D. Many Buddhist *vihāras* were built or repaired during this period. He completed the construction of the Sullavihāra, which was started by his uncle, Uccala.[56] Another *vihāra*, built by the queen Ratnādevī, also received the king's care.[57] The king's minister Rilhaṇa constructed a *vihāra* in memory of his deceased wife Sussala.[58] Sussala was indeed a sincere follower of Buddha, as she is said to have built at the site of the Caṅkuṇavihāra, of which nothing but the name remained, a stone shrine, residences and other structures.[59] Cintā, the wife of Jayasiṁha's commander Udaya, built a *vihāra*, which included within it, five buildings.[60] One of the ministers of Jayasiṁha, Dhanya by name, commenced the construction of a *vihāra*, but could not complete the structure, due to his premature death. Then Jayasiṁha, the king himself, made arrangements for the completion of the building and for a permanent endowment.[61]

It is almost definite that Buddha was held in high honour in Kāśmīra upto the last days of the Hindu rule. A stone inscription, generally taken to have been dated 1197 A.D., has been discovered at Arigom (anc. Hāḍigrāma), about 15 miles south west of Śrīnagara. The inscription opens with a salutation to Buddha Avalokiteśvara and exalts him with glorious titles.[62]

Marco Polo (13th century) states that in his time Kāśmīra was pre-eminent among the idolatrous countries and it was the very original source from which idolatory had spread around. There were also a number of idolatrous abbeys and monasteries. The superiors who exercised the functions of the abbots in these monasteries were held in great reverence by the mass of the people.[63] If Yule's interpretation that the word 'Idolatry' is an expression meaning Buddhism[64] be accepted, then, we are to admit that the Buddhism enjoyed wide popularity in the valley as late as the end of the 13th century.

The place of Kāśmīra in the history of Buddhism was great indeed. From the moment Buddhism was preached in the valley, Kāśmīra became mistress of the Buddhist doctrine and particularly the citadel of the Sarvāstivāda school. She played a great role in the spread of Buddhism beyond India, to Kandahar and Kabul and Bactria and thence to Central Asia and China. Tibetan Buddhism also drew its inspiration from Kāśmīra.

ŚAIVISM

The history of the introduction of Śaivism in Kāśmīra is shrouded in mystery. Archaeologists have discovered traces of Śiva worship in the proto-historic Harappa culture. It is not known, whether the Śiva of Kāśmīra was an immigrant from the neighbouring Indus Valley or was of local origin. The conception of Rudra Śiva of the Vedic Aryans perhaps might have had some influence on the development and early growth of Śaivism in the valley, but any definite assertion on the point must be hazardous and risky.

Whatever might have been the origin of Śaivism in Kāśmīra, there is no doubt that Śiva as a popular deity was widely worshipped in the valley from a remote period. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, there was a shrine of Śiva Vijayeśa even in pre-Aśokan days.[65] Aśoka himself built two temples of Śiva-Aśokeśvara [66] and was also a devotee of Śiva Bhūteśa.[67] Aśoka's son Jalauka was also a worshipper of Śiva. He made a vow that he would ever worship Śiva Vijayeśvara and Jyeṣṭheśa residing at Nandīśakṣetra.[68] He also erected a shrine of Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra at Śrīnagarī[69] and built a stone temple at Nandīkṣetra for Śiva Bhūteśa.[70] Next king Dāmodara II is said to have been crest jewel of Śiva worshippers.[71] The Hūṇa chief Mihirakula, who came into possession of the valley sometime in the 6th century A.D. founded at Śrīnagarī a shrine of

Śiva Mihireśvara.[72] King Gokarṇa established a shrine of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara[73], his son Narendrāditya Khiṅkhila of Śiva Bhūteśvara[74] and the latter's preceptor of Śiva Ugreśa.[75]

Tuñjīna I built a temple of Śiva Tungeśvara.[76] A Kāśmīrian minister named Saṁdhimati became famous for his devotion to Śiva.[77] When this minister came to be king, he consecrated a large number of Śiva *liṅgas* and constructed two shrines of Śiva under the names of Saṁdhīśvara and Īśeśvara.[78]

King Śreṣṭhasena, also known as Pravarasena I, constructed the first shrine of Pravareśvara.[79] King Pravarasena II, who was a staunch follower of Śiva[80], consecrated the *liṅga* of Pravareśvara.[81] Another king Raṇāditya was a votary of Śiva and erected temples in honour of his adorned god.[82]

The account of the Śiva worship in Kāśmīra, as given above, has been gleaned principally from the first three books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and as such, can not claim to be wholly trustworthy. The facts furnished by Kalhaṇa, however, indicate in the main, the wide prevalence of the Śaiva cult in the valley from an early period.

While coming to the more sober portions of Kalhaṇa's work, we find innumerable references to the foundations of Śiva shrines, erection of temples in honour of Śiva, etc. These references, more reliable than the former ones, help us to portray the actual picture of Śaivism in Kāśmīra in later days.

The Karkoṭas came to occupy the throne of Kāśmīra in the 7th century. Some members of this family were devoted to the cult of Śiva. Narendraprabhā, mother of Lalitāditya, built a shrine of Śiva Narendreśvara.[83] Lalitāditya erected a lofty temple of stone for Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra and made a grant of land and villages for the maintenance of the temple.[84] He also offered a large amount of money to the shrine of Śiva Bhūteśa.[85] The king's love for Śaivism was perhaps contagious and his minister Mitraśarman founded a shrine of Śiva Mitreśvara.[86] Ācārya Bhapaṭa constructed a shrine of Śiva under the name of Bhappaṭeśvara and many other shrines of Śiva called Rakchaṭeśa, etc. were put up by a host of people.[87] During the reign of Lalitāditya's grandson Jayāpīḍa, his chamberlain Āca built a shirne of Śiva Āceśvara.[88]

Śaivism received patronage also from the Utpalas, who succeeded the Karkoṭas. Avantivarman's minister Śūra built at Śūreśvarīkṣetra a temple in honour of Śiva and his consort.[89] His son Ratnavardhana erected a temple of Śiva Bhūteśvara.[90]

The king Avantivarman founded at Avantipura a temple of Śiva Avantīśvara.[91] At the shrines of Tripureśvara, Bhūteśa, and Vijayeśa, three pedestals were fitted by the king with both conduits made of silver.[92] The king, moreover, regularly went to worship at the Śaiva shrines of Bhūteśvara and other places.[93]

Avantivarman's successor to the throne was his son Śaṁkaravarman. He too was a devotee of Śiva. In the town of Śaṁkarapura, founded by him, the king built two temples of Śaṁkaragaurīśa and Sugandheśa.[94] The latter temple was built in the name of Śaṁkaravarman's queen, Sugandhā who, evidently, like his husband, was a worshipper of Śiva. Śaṁkara's minister Ratnavardhana erected another temple of Sadāśiva Ratnavardhaneśa.[95]

Śiva was worshipped with great devotion not only in the Karkṭoa and Utpala period, but also in the succeeding ages. Parvagupta, who was on the throne of Kāśmīra about the middle of the 10th century A.D., founded the shrine of Śiva Parvagupteśvara.[96] Another temple of Śiva Kṣemagaurīśvara was erected by the succeeding king Kṣemagupta.[97]

Among the members of the first Lohara dynasty, Saṁgrā marāja obtained religious merit by restoring the famous shrine of Śiva Raṇeśvara.[98] Queen Sūryamatī founded the temple of Śiva Gaurīśvara[99] and also consecrated a second temple of Sadāśiva near the royal palace.[100] Her devotion towards Śiva was further marked by the consecration of *triśūlas*, *Bāṇaliṅgas*, and other sacred emblems.[101] Sūryamatī's husband, king Ananta, according to the evidence of Kalhaṇa, surpassed even the *munis* by his devotion to Śiva.[102] Ananta's son Kalaśa too was a staunch follower of Śiva. The stone temple of Śiva Vijayeśa which was formerly burnt down, was built anew by him.[103] At Tripureśvara, Kalaśa founded another temple of Śiva.[104] A third temple of the god was erected by him under the name of Kalaśeśvara.[105] All these temples were adorned with golden parasols and cups and the like.

Śaivism also flourished under the second Lohara dynasty. Rilhaṇa, a minister of Jayasiṁha, built at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna, a shrine of Śiva Rilhaṇeśvara.[106] Another minister of the king, Bhuṭṭa by name, consecrated a Śiva image called Bhūṭṭeśvara.[107] Prince Saṅgiya, a chief from the Ṭakka territory, founded a *liṅga* after his own name.[108] Mankha, the brother of *sāṁdhivigrahika* Alaṁkāra, constructed a shrine of Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva along with a *maṭha*.[109] A shrine of Śiva Rudreśvara was erected by Jayasiṁha's queen Raḍḍā.[110] The virtuous king Siṁhadeva bowed to Śaṁkara, the lord of Gaurī, and caused Vijayeśvara to be bathed in milk purchased with one lakh pieces of gold (*niṣka*).[111]

Some of the Śaiva establishments, referred to by Kalhaṇa, have been actually found out by archaeological explorations. The temple of Śiva Avantīśvara, founded by Avantivarman with massive walls now stands sadly mutilated just outside the village of Jaubror. The temples of Śaṁkaragaurīśa and Sugandheśa have been identified with two ruined temples of Paṭan. A temple at Narannāg has been identified by Stein with the Jyeṣṭheśa temple of Lalitāditya and another large temple in the same site with Bhūteśvara.[112] Most of the Śaiva images whether in his phallic or in his human form, have been destroyed. Among the few early sculptural representations of the god, which have survived up to date, mention may be made of the following: seated figure of Lakulīśa form of Śiva at Pāndreṭhan[113], several sculptured reliefs of Śiva at the temple of Payer including Śiva seated cross-legged on throne under the canopy of an overhanging tree and surmounted by votaries, Śiva Bhairava pursuing a human being, six headed dancing Śiva, three-headed Śiva seated cross-legged[114], a large human-faced Śiva-liṅga at Bārāmūla[115], a three-headed Śiva image and a three-headed Śiva in alto-relievo from Avantipura.[116]

Early Kāśmīra Śaivism was of the Pāśupata sect.[117] According to a tradition recorded in the *Mahābhārata*, the Pāśupata doctrine was preached first by Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha. It is interesting to note that Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha was also regarded in the valley as the promulgator of Śivāgama or Āgamānta Śaivism[118] which included within itself the system of Pāśupata.

The early Kāśmīra Śaivism, based on a number of *Tantras* seems to have preached a dualistic doctrine. From the 8th or 9th century, however, the Śaiva system of Kāśmīra assumed a new character. Based on pure *advaita tatva*, it henceforth began to preach a sort of idealistic monism. The new system took the name of *Trika Śāstra*. The founder of this new doctrine was a holy sage, named Vasugupta, who probably lived in the early years of the 9th century A.D.[119]

The new form of Kāśmīra Śaivism, *Trikaśāstra* or *Trika śāsana*, as it was called, was subdivided into three principal classes, the *Āgama Śāstra*, the *Spanda Śāstra*, and the *Pratyabhiñjā Śāstra*. The *Āgama Śāstra* consisted of a number of old *Tantras* such as *Mālinīvijaya*, *Svacchanda*, *Vijñāna*

Bhairava, *Ānanda Bhairava*, *Ucchusma Bhairava*, *Mṛgendra*, *Mātaṅga*, *Netra*, *Naiśvāsa*, *Svāyambhuva*, *Rudra-yāmala*, etc. These existed even before the coming of the *Trika* and *Śiva Sūtras* which are said to have been revealed by Śiva himself to the sage Vasugupta.

The principles of the *Trika* system which found its first expression in the *Śiva Sūtras* were amplified and given clearer expositions in the *Spanda Śāstra* or *Spanda Kārikās* which was probably a work of Kallaṭa (9th century A.D.) and probably based on a work called *Spandāmṛta* written by Vasugupta himself.[120]

A philosophical treatise, supporting the doctrines of the *Trika* by critical arguments and reasonings, *vicāra* and *manana*, was written by Siddha Somānanda, probably a disciple of the sage Vasugupta and this came to be known as *Pratyabhiñjā*.

The Advaita Śaivism of Kāśmīra, first propounded by Vasugupta, took its origin about the 9th century A.D. To Kallaṭa must be given the credit of spreading the knowledge by writing explanatory notes on them. Kallaṭa's work was carried on through ages by his disciples and some of the writers of the succeeding period wrote several treatises on it.

When Advaita Śaivism grew up in Kāśmīra, it had a formidable rival in the sister religion of Buddhism. To combat the rival, it needed a philosophy to support it and this was supplied by the *Pratyabhijñā Śāstra*. The work of Somānanda was taken up and expanded into greater details by his successors Utpala, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja, Yogarāja and Jayaratha. The lamp of Śaivism burnt steadily in the valley throughout the period of the Hindu rule and even afterwards; as late as the 18th century A.D. a work on the *Pratyabhijñā Śāstra* was composed by a writer named Śivopādhyāya.

It seems that the idealistic monism of the *Trika* system being exclusively philosophical and ethical, remained confined to a particular class of learned religious-minded people only. The mass kept themselves attached to their old forms of Śiva worship, and perhaps had little to do with the idealistic school. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we have a large number of references to Śaiva establishments, etc., but there is no hint of the *Trika* system. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, the old traditional Pāśupata Śaivism prevailed in the valley in the 11th century A.D. and even afterwards.[121]

VAIṢṆAVISM

The cult of Viṣṇu seems to have existed in Kāśmīra from a very early period. Lack of material, however, prevents us from tracing its origin and early character.

The earliest historical reference to the worship of Viṣṇu occurs in the pages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where it is said that an image of Viṣṇu Jayasvāmin was consecrated by king Pravarasena II.[122] Pravarasena II might have lived about the end of the 6th century A.D. Another image of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin was consecrated by king Raṇāditya at or near his capital Pravarapura.[123] Raṇāditya, who is credited with a reign of three hundred years is undoubtedly a legendary figure in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. But the historicity of the temple of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin is amply proved by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's mention of it in the *Āgamaḍambara*[124] and Kalhaṇa's reference to it in his fifth book where he speaks of a visit paid to Raṇasvāmin by Cakravarman's queen.[125] Mankha (12th century A.D.) in his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* refers to his father's worhsip of Raṇasvāmin.[126] Jonarāja also mentions Raṇasvāmin Viṣṇu in his commentary and describes it as '*Śrīpravarapurapradhānadevatā*.'

With the accession of the Karkoṭas to the throne of Kāśmīra in the 7th century A.D., Viṣṇu, the adored deity of the family, came to occupy a prominent position in the Kāśmīra pantheon. A son of king Durlabhavardhana, called Malhaṇa, built the shrine of Viṣṇu Malhaṇasvāmin[127], while the king himself consecrated at Śrīnagarī the shrine of Viṣṇu Durlabhasvāmin[128]. Durlabhavardhana's grandson Candrāpīḍa, who lived in the early part of the 8th century A.D., consecrated the shrine of Viṣṇu Tribhuvanasvāmin.[129] His preceptor, Mihiradatta, built a temple of Viṣṇu Gambhīrasvāmin and his city-prefect Calitaka founded a temple of Viṣṇu Calitasvāmin.[130]

The illustrious Lalitāditya came to the throne of Kāśmīra not long after the death of Candrāpīḍa Vajrāditya. He too was a great devotee of Lord Viṣṇu. Resolved upon the conquest of the world, he built a shrine of Keśava Viṣṇu in the early part of his reign.[131] At Huṣkapura, he built a splendid shrine of Viṣṇu Muktāsvāmin[132] and of the town of Lokapuṇya with some villages he made an offering to Viṣṇu.[133] In the town of Parihāsapura, which the monarch constructed in honour of his adored deity, he built the glorious silver statue of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava.[134] At Huṣkapura, another famous image of Viṣṇu Muktākeśava, was made out of gold.[135] A fourth one, that of boar incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, was founded by him under the name of Viṣṇu Mahāvarāha.[136] Lalitāditya consecrated two other silver images of his beloved god, one under the title of Govardhanadhara[137], and the other under the name of Rāmasvāmin.[138] The latter image was placed in a stone temple which stood by the temple of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava. Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Viṣnu was also a great favourite of Lalitāditya.[139]

Lalitāditya's zeal for Vaiṣṇavism must have shed its light upon those who were near him and who were driven to the same spiritual inclinations. His queen Kamalāvatī put up a large silver image of Kamalākeśava[140] and the king of Lāṭa, named Kayya, who was probably a feudatory of Lalitāditya, founded a shrine of Viṣṇu Kayyasvāmin.[141]

Some of the later Karkoṭa kings also adhered to the faith of Viṣṇu. Jayāpīḍa, the grandson of Lalitāditya built the town of Jayapura, where, as Kalhaṇa poetically describes, ' Keśava showing his quadruple form as well as reclining on the serpent Śeṣa, has truly taken up his abode, abandoning his residence in Viṣṇu's world '.[142] Jayāpīḍa's mother Amṛtaprabhā built a temple of Amṛtakeśava for the deliverance of her dead son.[143] During the reign of Ajitāpīḍa, the ministers Utpala, Padma, Dharma, Kalyāṇa and Mamma built temples of Viṣṇu under the names of Utpalasvāmin, Padmasvāmin, Dharmasvāmin, Kalyāṇasvāmin, and Mammasvāmin, respectively.[144]

Viṣṇu was also worshipped by the members of the Utpala dynasty who succeeded the Karkoṭas. Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883), the first king of the dynasty built the shrines of Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin, even before he became a king.[145] His brother, Śūravarman founded a temple of Śūravarmasvāmin and a *gokula*.[146] Another brother of the king, Samara founded for Keśava in his quadruple form a temple called Samarasvāmin.[147] Mahodaya, the chief door keeper of Śūra consecrated a shrine of Viṣṇu Mahodayasvāmin[148], while the king's minister Prabhākaravarman built a temple of Viṣṇu Prabhākarasvāmin[149]. Lastly, Suyya, the irigation minister of Avantivarman built at the new confluence of Sindhu and Vitastā a temple of Hṛṣīkeśa Yogaśāyin.[150]

The popularity of the cult of Viṣṇu in the happy valley during the 8th and 9th centuries is further attested to by a number of images discovered from various ancient ruins. These include a few busts and heads of Viṣṇu which have been recovered from Vijabror, three-faced Viṣṇu figures carved on the walls of the Mārtaṇḍa temple, relief sculptures of Caturbhuja Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu seated between consorts hailing from the ruins of Andarkoṭh and four-headed Viṣṇu images from Avantipura and the surroundings.[151]

The development of Vaiṣṇavism in Kāśmīra, from the 10th century onwards, is evidenced from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904-906) built a temple of Viṣṇu Gopāla Keśava and her daughter-in-law Nandā founded a temple of Nandikeśava.[152]. A temple of Viṣṇu Meruvardhanasvāmī was built by Pārtha's (A.D. 906-921) minister, Meruvardhana.[153] Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) started the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu Yaśaskarasvāmin, which, when he died, was left incomplete. The construction, however, was completed by Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950). Bhaṭṭa Phalguṇa, a councillor of Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958), founded the shrine of Viṣṇu Phalguṇasvāmin.[154] About the same time, Bhīma, the illustrious monarch of the Śāhi dynasty, who was the maternal grandfather of Kṣemagupta's queen Diddā, built a high temple of Bhīmakeśava.[155] About the end of the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. queen Diddā, founded a series of Viṣṇu shrines. The temple of Abhimanyusvāmin, she built to increase her deceased son Abhimanyu's merit[156], while the shrine of Viṣṇu Siṁhasvāmin was erected by her, under the name of her father Siṁharāja.[157] The queen further built two temples under the name of Viṣṇu Diddāsvāmin.[158].

The iconoclast Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) destroyed a large number of Hindu and Buddhist images. The Viṣṇu images desecrated by the dissolute king included the famous Parihāsakeśava. But king Uccala, who stepped into his shoes in the early years of the 12th century A.D., put up a new image of Parihāsakeśava.[159] He also adorned the shrine of Viṣṇu Tribhuvanasvāmin with *śukāvalī*, which Harṣa had carried off.[160] Lastly, he restored the decayed temple of the ancient shrine of Viṣṇu Cakradhara.[161] All these are indications enough of the king's love and admiration for Vaiṣṇavism.

Vaiṣṇavism was popular even after Uccala's death. Ratnāvalī, the queen of Jayasiṁha established Vaikuṇṭhamaṭha and other pious buildings.[162] The *gokula*, erected by her, far excelled the *gokulas* erected previously.[163] Alaṁkāra, the superintendent of Jayasiṁha's great treasury (*vṛhadgañja*) was also a worshipper of Viṣṇu.[164] Among the later Hindu kings who professed Vaiṣṇavism, Jonarāja mentions Rāmadeva, who renewed the Viṣṇu temple at Utpalapura[165] and Udayanadeva who gave all golden ornaments in his treasury to Viṣṇu.[166]

In the Vaiṣṇavism of Kāśmīra, we find a synthesis of the different Vaiṣṇava cults, which were current in ancient India. In it seems to have mingled, the faith of the Vedic Viṣṇu, the system of the Pāñcarātra school, the religion of the Satvats and the faith in the cowherd god Gopāla Kṛṣṇa. Rāma was worshipped as an incarnation of Viṣṇu[167], but there is no definite evidence of the existence of Rāma-cult in early Kāśmīra.

Among the various incarnations of Viṣṇu, Varāha (boar) Kṛṣṇa, and Nṛsiṁha (man-lion) were most popular. Lalitāditya built a temple of Mahāvarāha [168] and iconographic representations of boar, man and lion-faced Viṣṇu come from the temple of Mārtaṇḍa (8th century A.D.) as well as from the ruins of Avantipura (9th century A.D.). Rāma, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, seems to have been worshipped in the 8th century A.D. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* refers to the celebration of Buddha's birth-day festival[169], and this was a step towards the Buddha becoming an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The *avatāravāda* of Kāśmīra was, however, thoroughly systematized by the 11th century A.D. and in Kṣemendra's *Daśāvatāracarita*, we find a list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu under the names of Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Śrīrāma, Śrīkṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya.[170]

MINOR GODS AND GODDESSES OF THE HINDU RELIGION

Besides Viṣṇu and Śiva, there were many other minor Hindu gods and goddesses in the early Kāśmīrian pantheon. The most important of them include Sūrya, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Agni, Lakṣmī, Durgā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Kāmadeva, of whose worship we have real literary evidence; some of their images too have survived.

The worship of Sūrya was probably brought into the valley from Iran at an early period. The Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas, who ruled over Kāśmīra in the early centuries of the Christian era, seem to have been responsible for its introduction. Paucity of evidence, however, prevents us from making any definite assertion on the point or from tracing the early character of the cult.

Raṇāditya, a king of ancient Kāśmīra, is said in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to have bulit at the village of Siṁharotsikā a temple of Mārtaṇḍa, which became famous everywhere under the name of Raṇapurasvāmin.[171] But Raṇāditya is a legendary character in the ancient history of Kāśmīra and the village Siṁharotsikā or the Mārtaṇḍa temple, said to have been founded by him, cannot be located. In the 8th century A.D., Lalitāditya erected the shrine of Āditya at the town of Lalitapura.[172] He built another massive stone temple of Sūrya under the name of Mārtaṇḍa,[173] the ruins of which have survived.

The Sun worship continued to be in vogue in Kāśmīra long after the death of Lalitāditya. King Śūravarman II (A.D. 939) paid homage to the temple of the Sun-god Jayasvāmin.[174] The copper image of Sūrya, called Tāmrasvāmin, was one of the most celebrated shrines of the valley in the 11th century A.D.[175] Kalhaṇa's remarks that Kāśmīrian king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) sought refuge with Mārtaṇḍa to save his life[176] and presented a gold statue at the god's feet,[177] prove the popularity of Sun-worship in Kāśmīra at that time. Kalaśa's son Harṣa (1089-1101 A.D.), who destroyed a large number of divine images, spared the image of Mārtaṇḍa, either out of respect or out of fear.[178]

The ruins of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa clearly show with what grandeur and pomp, love and devotion, the god was worshipped. No image of the Sun-god has yet been recovered from any part of the valley. There is, however, in the right panel of the eastern wall of the ante-chamber of the temple of Mārtaṇḍa, a representation of Aruṇa, the charioteer of Sūrya, holding the reins of his seven horses.

Kārttikeya worship in early Kāśmīra is borne out by the discovery of a fine six armed image of the generallisimo.[179] Though the image can not be ascribed to any definite chronological setting, the close resemblance which it bears with the Gandhāra images of the Bodhisattvas, may place it to a period round about the 5th century A.D. Another standing figure of Kumāra, along with an Ardhanārīśvara image, has been found among the ruins of Avantipura[180] and may be dated to the period of Avantivarman's rule (A.D. 855/56-883). The *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, which was probably composed in the 8th century A.D. refers that the worship of Kārttikeya was performed on the 6th of lunar *Caitra* every year and this was supposed to ensure the welfare and safety of the children of Kāśmīra.[181] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, there is mention of the foundation of one Skandabhavanavihāra by a Kāśmīrian minister Skandagupta.[182] Though at a comparatively modern period the place was associated with the worship of Kārttikeya, Stein is probably correct in his assumption that in early times it was a Buddhist *vihāra* and had no relation with the deity of Kumāra.[183] But even then, Skanda, the very name of the founder of the *vihāra*, seems to suggest his personal association with the god.

Gaṇeśa, the brother of Skanda according to the Hindu mythology, was one of the popular gods of the valley of Kāśmīra. According to Kalhaṇa an image of Vināyaka Bhīmasvāmin existed in Kāśmīra as early as the days of Pravarasena II (*c.* 6th century A.D.) and received regular worship.[184] A stone image of Gaṇeśa, along with an Ardhanārīśvara image, mention of which has already been made, was found amidst the ruins of Avantipura and may be dated to the second half of the 9th century A.D.[185] Several terracotta plaques, containing the figure of the elephant-headed god, evidently works of local craftsmanship, have also been recovered from the site of Avantipura.[186] That Avantipura was a centre of Gaṇeśa-worship receives further corroboration from Kṣemendra who says that bowls of sweets offered to Lord Gaṇeśa were resold in the town of Avantipura.[187] We learn from the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* that the 8th of the darker Āṣaḍha of every year was dedicated to the worship of Gaṇeśa and went by the name of Vināyaka-aṣṭamī.[188] The worship of Vināyaka had also to be performed on the eve of the anointing ceremony of the king.[189]

No sculptural representation of Agni or Fire god has yet been discovered from Kāśmīra. A passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, however, refers to the worship of the Fire god and records that king Uccala's father Malla, observed from his earliest time the cult of a sacred fire.[190] As Stein has pointed out, there was probably a shrine of the god of Fire Svayambhū at Suyam, a place situated about half a mile from the present village of Nichhom.[191] The temple of fire god Svayambhū was destroyed, it may be presumed, by Harṣa and the decayed building was restored by Uccala.[192] King Uccala is also said to have started once on a pilgrimage to Svayambhū.[193]

Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, was quite a popular deity. King Pravarasena II (6th century A.D.) is credited with the establishment of five shrines of the goddess Śrī.[194] An image of Lakṣmī has come from the historic town of Vijabror, modern Brar.[195] From stylistic consideration, the sculpture may be assigned to about the 6th century A.D. Another beautiful stone figure of the goddess seated on a throne, supported by a pair of lions, with elephants on each side pouring water over her head, has been discovered from the Avantisvāmī temple, and is apparently of the 9th cntury A.D. Kalhaṇa records that during the reign of Unmattāvanti (A.D. 937-939), a Brāhmaṇa of well-known valour, named Rakka, raised an image of the goddess Śrī under the appellation of Rakkajayādevī.[196]

Worship of Śakti, the energetic principle, seems to have been widely prevalent. In the worship of goddess Durgā, who is but an embodiment of Śakti, animal sacrifices played an important part.[197] Goddess Śāradā was one of the most celebrated deities of the valley in early times[198] and she was nothing but 'Śakti embodying three separate manifestations'.[199] References to 'Mātṛcakra' are frequently met with in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[200] and sculptured images of *sapta mātṛkās*, such as Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Indrānī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī and Cāmuṇḍī have been recovered from Pāndreṭhan.[201] A life-size separate sculpture of Vārāhī, representing a young woman with the face of Varāha, discovered among the ruins of Kāśmīra, is now preserved in the Lalmandi Musuem, Śrīnagara.[202] Though the *sapta mātṛkās* were originally Śivaite in origin, there is no doubt that afterwards they became the actual cult emblems of the devout Śāktas.

Representations of the goddess Gaṅgā, sometimes accompanied by the goddess Yamunā, are found among the old sculptures of the valley,[203] but they do not seem to have any particular cult associated with them.

Two similarly sculptured reliefs found in the Avantisvāmī temple have been generally interpreted as representations of the god Viṣṇu accompanied by Lakṣmī and another goddess (Bhūmi?).[204] But according to Vogel, the amorous attitude of the central personage and his attributes, a bow and an arrow ending in a flower, indicate that here we have an iconographic representation of Kāmadeva seated between his wives Rati and Prīti.[205] There is literary evidence too of Kāmadeva's popularity in ancient Kāśmīra. According to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* the 13th of lunar *Caitra* was devoted to the worship of Kāmadeva.[206]

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[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 3.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 265.

[3] See J. Przuluski's article in the *Journal Asiatique* for the year 1914, pp. 535 ff.

[4] *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston (tr. E. Obermiller), II, p. 90.

[5] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 28,, 182.

[6] *R.T.*, I, 185.

[7] *R.T.*, I, 201-273.

[8] *R.T.*, III, 530.

[9] *R.T.*, V, 592-617.

[10] *R.T.*, VII, 167-175.

[11] *R.T.*, I, 222.

[12] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II (tr. Jarret, 2nd edition), p. 356.

[13] *Mahāvaṁsa*, XII, 3.

[14] *Dul-va* (A. S. B. Xylograph), XI, 684-690.

[15] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 261-262.

[16] *R.T.*, I, 101-102.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), I, p. 150.

[19] The name of Kāśmīra does not occur in the edicts of Aśoka, where a detailed description has been given regarding the emperor's missionary activities in different parts of his far flung empire and even beyond it. But we know from R.E. V. that *Dharma-Mahāmātras* were appointed by Aśoka to establish and promote *Dharma* among the Gandhāras and other peoples. Now Gandhāra, in pre-christian days, seems to have included within it, the territory of Kāśmīra. In the Buddhist texts, 'Kāśmīra-Gandhāra' was regarded as one of the sixteen *janapadas*. Kaspapyros (i.e. Kāśmīra) was noticed by Hecataeus (549-486 B.C.) as a Gandaric city. In the *Milindapañha*, Kāśmīra-Gandhāra appears as a compound name. (*Milinadpañha*, ed. V. Trenckner, p. 331). It, therefore, appears highly probable that when Aśoka refers to Gandhāra in his inscription, he probably includes within it the territory of Kāśmīra. According to some scholars, Nabhakas mentioned in R.E. XIII, were probably the inhabitants of Kāśmīra; see *I.H.Q.*, XXIV, pp. 163-164.

[20] As related in the *Milindapañha* the discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena took at a place which was only 12 yojanas from Kāśmīra (*Milindapañha*, ed. Trenckner, pp. 82-83) and this has some important bearing on the history of Buddhism in Kāśmīra in the 1st century B.C.

[21] *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner), p. 420.

[22] *R. T.*, I, 168. Of the three Turuṣka kings, Huṣka, Juṣka, and Kaniṣka, mentioned by Kalhaṇa, Huṣka has been generally identified with the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka, Juṣka is probably Vājeṣpa of the Ara inscription of the year 41, and Kaniṣka may be either Kaniṣka I or Kaniṣka II of the Ara inscription.

[23] *R.T.*, I, 169-170.

[24] *R.T.*, I, 171.

[25] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 270-271.

[26] *R.T.*, I, 173.

[27] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 272-283.

[28] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 105-111.

[29] Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 11-24.

[30] *R.T.*, III, 6.
[31] *R.T.*, III, 7.
[32] *R.T.*, III, 9.
[33] *R.T.*, III, 11-14.
[34] *R.T.*, III, 4, 7.
[35] *R.T.*, III, 355.
[36] *R.T.*, III, 379.
[37] *R.T.*, III, 380.
[38] *R.T.*, III, 463-64.
[39] *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (1861), p. 223; *J.A.* (1895), 9 Serie, Tome VI, p. 354.
[40] *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. N. Dutt), I, Intr. pp. 40-43.
[41] Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 27-38.
[42] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, pp. 258 sqq. Dr. N. Dutt suggests that the Buddhist scriptures copied by Hiuen Tsang in the Kāśmīra court, formed the basis of the *Tripiṭaka* of the 7th century A.D., *Gilgit Manuscripts*, I, Intr., p. 37.
[43] *R.T.*, IV, 3.
[44] *R.T.*, IV, 188, 200.
[45] *R.T.*, IV, 200-203.
[46] *R.T.*, IV, 211.
[47] *R.T.*, IV, 213, 259-262.
[48] *R.T.*, IV, 507.
[49] Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 146-149.
[50] *J.A.* (1895), VI, pp. 341 sqq. *Mung-ti-vihāra* seems to be identical with a large *vihāra* said to have been built by Muktāpīḍa at Huṣkapura (*R.T.*, IV, 188), *Ngo-mi-to-po-wan* with Amṛtabhavana constructed by Amṛtaprabhā, queen of Meghavāhana (*R.T.*, III, 11), *Ngo-nan-i* with Anaṅgabhavanavihāra founded by Anaṅgalekhā, wife of Durlabhavardhana (*R.T.*, IV, 3), *Ki-tche* with Kṛtyāśramavihāra (*R.T.*, I, 147). Also see Stein, *R.T.* (Eng. tr.), Vol. I, pp. 26, 73 and 140.
[51] *Gilgit Manuscripts* (ed. N. Dutt), I, Intr. p. 45.
[52] *R.T.*, VI, 174.
[53] *R.T.*, VI, 172-173.
[54] *R.T.*, VI, 175.
[55] *Saṁvatsare saptaviṁśe Vaiśākhasya sitodaye* ।
Kṛteyam kalpalatikā jina janmamahotsave ॥
Avadānakalpalatā, Introduction, verse 16.

According to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* also, the birth day of Buddha was held in ancient Kāśmīra on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, *Nīlamata* (ed. De. Vreese), verses, 684-689.
[56] *R.T.*, VIII, 3318.
[57] *R.T.*, VIII, 2402.
[58] *R.T.*, VIII, 2410-2411.
[59] *R.T.*, VIII, 2415.
[60] *R.T.*, VIII, 3352-53.
[61] *R.T.*, VIII, 3343-3344.

[62] *Namo Bhagavate Āryāvalokiteśvarāya Trailokyālokabhūtāya Lokābhavaccide Jagadānandacandrāya Lokanāthāya te namaḥ.*
Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 300 sqq.

[63] Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, pp. 166-67.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[65] *R.T.*, I, 105-106.

[66] *R.T.*, I, 106.

[67] *R.T.*, 107.

[68] *R.T.*, I, 113.

[69] *R.T.*, I, 124.

[70] *R.T.*, I, 148.

[71] *R.T.*, I, 154.

[72] *R.T.*, I, 306. Mihirakula's devotion to Śiva is also borne out by his coins where the *triśūla* and the bull of Śiva appear and the legend runs as *Jayatu Vṛṣa dhvaja*, see Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 27.

[73] *R.T.*, I, 346.

[74] *R.T.*, I, 347.

[75] *R.T.*, I, 348.

[76] *R.T.*, II, 14.

[77] *R.T.*, II, 65.

[78] *R.T.*, II, 123-135.

[79] *R.T.*, III, 99.

[80] *R.T.*, III, 268-280.

[81] *R.T.*, III, 350.

[82] *R.T.*, III, 440-463.

[83] *R.T.*, IV, 43.

[84] *R.T.*, IV, 190.

[85] *R.T.*, IV, 189.

[86] *R.T.*, IV, 209.

[87] *R.T.*, IV, 214.

[88] *R.T.*, IV, 513.

[89] *R.T.*, V, 37.

[90] *R.T.*, V, 40.

[91] *R.T.*, V, 45.

[92] *R.T.*, V, 46.

[93] *R.T.*, V, 48-49.

[94] *R.T.*, V, 158.

[95] *R.T.*, V, 163.

[96] *R.T.*, VI, 137.

[97] *R.T.*, VI, 173.

[98] *R.T.*, VII, 115.

[99] *R.T.*, VII, 180.

[100] *R.T.*, VII, 181.

[101] *R.T.*, VII, 185.

[102] *R.T.*, VII, 201.

[103] *R.T.*, VII, 525.

[104] *R.T.*, VII, 526.

[105] *R.T.*, VII, 527.

[106] *R.T.*, VIII, 2409.

[107] *R.T.*, VIII, 2432.

[108] *R.T.*, VIII, 3348.

[109] *R.T.*, VIII, 3354.

[110] *R.T.*, VIII, 3389-3391.

[111] Jonarāja, *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Bombay ed.), verse 127.

[112] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Eng. tr. by Stein), Vol. I, p. 194.

[113] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 114.

[114] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[116] Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 55-56.

[117] *R.T.*, I, 17-48, III, 267, 460, V, 404.

[118] J. C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Śaivism*, p. 36.

[119] Vasugupta's disciple Kallaṭa is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Avantivarman (A.D., 855/56-883) in *R.T.*, V, 66. Hence Vasugupta seems to have lived somewhat earlier than Kallaṭa, say in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D.

[120] Chatterjee, *Kashmir Śaivism*, p. 32.

[121] *R.T.*, VII, 44. The presence of Kāpālin sect in the valley as evidenced from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* III, 369, VII, 44 cuts at the root the theory of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar that Kāśmīra was free from the scenes of ghastly Kāpālism or Kālāmukhism, the wild aberrations of human intellect and spirit, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems*, pp. 129-132.

[122] *R.T.*, III, 350-351.

[123] *R.T.*, III, 144-158.

[124] '*Tadatra praviśya bhagavantamaśeṣajana śaranaṁ Raṇasvāmīnaṁ praṇipatya tataḥ sabhāmadhyamadhyāsisye*' Act IV, *Āgamaḍambara.*

[125] *R.T.*, V, 394.

[126] *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, iii, 68.

[127] *R.T.*, IV, 4.

[128] *R.T.*, IV, 6.

[129] *R.T.*, IV, 79.

[130] *R.T.*, IV, 81.

[131] *R.T.*, IV, 183.

[132] *R.T.*, IV, 188.

[133] *R.T.*, IV, 193.

[134] *R.T.*, IV, 195, 202.

[135] *R.T.*, IV, 196, 201.

[136] *R.T.*, IV, 197.

[137] *R.T.*, IV, 198. In Govardhanadhara, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seems to have been identified with the cow-herd-god, Gopālā-Kṛṣṇa.

[138] *R.T.*, IV, 275. The cult of Rāma probably did not exist in the 8th century A.D. and Rāmasvāmin seems to have been worshipped as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

[139] *R.T.*, IV, 199.

[140] *R.T.*, IV, 208.

[141] *R.T.*, IV, 209.

[142] *R.T.*, IV, 508. In the quadruple form of Keśava we can trace the *vyūhavāda* of the Pāñcarātra school whereas Keśava reclining on serpent Śeṣa points to the identity of Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva.

[143] *R.T.*, IV, 659.

[144] *R.T.*, IV, 695-698.

[145] *R.T.*, V, 45.

[146] *R.T.*, V, 23. *Gokula* sems to have been a designation for a certain class of religious establishments. It is connected with *gokula*, the dwelling place of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla. The *gokulas* of Kāśmīra were provided with meadows for the cows' unobstructed free grazing (*R.T.*, VIII, 2436-2437). It may be mentioned in this connection that according to Hindu mythology cowherd Kṛṣṇa assumed the form of avatāra for killing demons in the cow settlement.

Hari Vaṁśa, 5876-5878; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch, 98, verses 100-102; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, II, 7.

[147] *R.T.*, V, 25.

[148] *R.T.*, V, 28.

[149] *R.T.*, V, 30.

[150] *R.T.*, V, 100.

[151] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1915-16, p. 62; *Handbook*, pp. 48-52, 61-63; *Ancient Monuments*, p. 162.

[152] *R.T.*, V, 244-245.

[153] *R.T.*, V, 267-268.

[154] *R.T.*, VI, 140-142.

[155] *R.T.*, VI, 178.

[156] *R.T.*, VI, 299.

[157] *R.T.*, VI, 304.

[158] *R.T.*, VI, 300-302.

[159] *R.T.*, VIII, 79.

[160] *R.T.*, VIII,80.

[161] *R.T.*, VIII, 78.

[162] *R.T.*, VIII, 2433.

[163] *R.T.*, VIII, 2436.

[164] *R.T.*, VIII, 2425.

[165] Jonarāja (Bombay ed.), verse 111.

[166] *Ibid.*, 265.

[167] *R.T.*, IV, 275; a perusal of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* where mention is made of the worship of Rāma, also points to the same conclusion.

[168] *R.T.*, IV, 197.

[169] *Nīlamatapurāṇa* ed. De Vreese, verses 684-689.

[170] Kṣemendra, *Daśāvatāracarita*, (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, Kāvyamālā, 26, Bombay, 1891).

[171] *R.T.*, III, 467.

[172] *R.T.*, IV, 187.

[173] *R.T.*, IV, 192.

[174] *R.T.*, V, 449.

[175] *R.T.*, VII, 696, 709.

[176] *R.T.*, VII, 709.

[177] *R.T.*, VII, 715.

[178] *R.T.*, VII, 1096.

[179] Kak, *Handbook*, p. 66.

[180] *Ann. Rep.*, *A.S.I.*, 1913-14, p. 53.

[181] *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (ed. De Vreese), verses 647-649.

[182] *R.T.*, III, 380.

[183] *R.T.*, (tr. Stein), Vol. II, p. 340.

[184] *R.T.*, III, 352.

[185] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14, p. 53.

[186] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[187] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 77.

[188] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses, 698-700.

[189] *Ibid.*, verse, 847.

[190] *R.T.*, VII, 1474.

[191] *R.T.* (tr. Stein), Vol. I, footnotes on I, 34.

[192] *R.T.*, VIII, 78.

[193] *R.T.*, VIII, 250.

[194] *R.T.*, III, 353.

[195] Kak, *Handbook*, p. 58.

[196] *R.T.*, V, 426.

[197] *R.T.*, III, 83.

[198] *R.T.*, I, 37, IV, 325, V, 469, VIII, 2556; Alberuni, *India* (tr. Sachau), I, p. 117; *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII, 5; Jonarāja (Bombay ed.), 1056-71.

[199] Stein, *R.T.* (Eng. tr.), Vol. II, p. 280.

[200] *R.T.*, I, 122, 330-335, 348, III, 99.

[201] Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 116.

[202] *R.T.* (tr. R. S. Pandit), p. 20, foot notes.

[203] Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 120, 121, 124, 133.

[204] Sahni, *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14, p. 46 and pl. XXVII figs. d and e; Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 122.

[205] *Ann. Bib. Art and Archaeology* (Leiden, 1933), p. 24.

[206] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses 655-658.

CHAPTER VII

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Of the earliest Sanskrit compositions of Kāśmīra, not a single has survived which may be dated with certainty to a period prior to the 6th century A.D.[1] But the highly developed literary style found in the works of the eighth century and onwards must have been the product of a long period of culture. In fact, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* speaks of many of these poets who flourished long before and who thought and wrote with ability on different branches of literature. One of them, Vasunanda, a ruler of the valley, is said to have composed a well-known work on erotics (*smaraśāstra*).[2] No work of Vasunanda is, however, extant. Another Kāśmīrian named Candaka is said to have been a great poet,[3] though no specific work is attributed to him. It is not unlikely that he is the same Candaka to whom some verses are ascribed in Ballabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[4] Perhaps, he may be also identical with the writer Candra, mentioned by the Chinese traveller It-sing. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* deals at some length with the career and activities of one Mātṛgupta who ruled Kāśmīra for a while. He was a poet and a contemporary of Pravarasena II (*c.* 580 A.D.) of Kāśmīra and Vikarmāditya Harṣa of Ujjayinī (*c.* 6th century A.D.).[5] Some scholars have endeavoured to prove his identity with the great Kālidāsa.[6] The arguments put forward by them may be summed up in the following points:—

(1) 'Mātṛ' is same as 'Kālī' and 'Gupta' is same as 'Dāsa'.

(2) Tradition says that Vikramāditya bestowed half of his kingdom on Kālidāsa. This agrees very well with the fact narrated by Kalhaṇa that king Vikramāditya of Ujjain made a gift of Kāśmīra to Mātṛgupta.

(3) The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa speaks of a large number of poets, some of whom like Vākpatirāja and Bhavabhūti lived beyond the borders of Kāśmīra, but it never makes any reference to Kālidāsa, who was undoubtedly the most famous of all.

(4) The illustrations of Kālidāsa are chiefly derived from the natural beauty of Kāśmīra; we may presume that he was an inhabitant of that province.

(5) Like Kālidāsa, who made a faithful portrayal of his sorrowful feelings of separation from his beloved in the *Meghadūta*, Mātṛgupta is also known to have lived away from his wife and home.

(6) The verse No. 252 in Book III of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the composition of which is ascribed by Kalhaṇa to Mātṛgupta, runs as follows:—

Nākāramudvahasi naiva vikatthase tvaṁ:
ditsāṁ na sūcayasi muñcasi satphalāni ।
nihśabdavarṣaṇabhivāmbudharasya rājan:
saṁlakṣyate phalata eva tava prasādaḥ ॥

The verse is very similar to verse No. 113 of the *Meghadūta* and conveys the same meaning.

(7) According to tradition, Kālidāsa wrote a poem called *Setukāvya* in Prākṛt at the request of Pravarasena. Tradition also says that Pravarasena II of Kāśmīra constructed a bridge of boats across the Vitastā.[7] It is possible that Mātṛgupta wrote the poem at the request of the Kāśmīrian king Pravarasena II who occupied the throne of Kāśmīra, when Mātṛgupta retired to Banaras.

(8) By astronomical calculations, some writers have tried to prove that Kālidāsa lived in the middle of the 6th century A.D.[8] This is in conformity with the date of Mātṛgupta who, being a contemporary of Vikarmāditya Harṣa of Malwa and Pravarasena II of Kāśmīra, must be assigned to the end of the 6th century.

The reasons in favour of the identification of Mātṛgupta with Kālidāsa, however, are not convincing. It is inexplicable why the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* should refer to Kālidāsa by the pseudonym Mātṛgupta. Ānandavardhana and several other Kāśmīrian writers quote verses from Kālidāsa, but never identify him with Mātṛgupta. In none of the works of Kālidāsa there is any mention of Mātṛgupta. Secondly, Kalhaṇa refers only to such poets as had some connection with the affairs of Kāśmīra. Bhavabhūti and Vākpati are mentioned, as they were court poets of an antagonist of a Kāśmīrian king. On the other hand, such great poets as Vālmīki and Vedavyāsa have not been mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Probably, Kālidāsa had never anything to do with the kings of Kāśmīra and this may be the reason of Kalhaṇa's silence over him. The subject matter of *Meghadūta* does not invariably indicate that its author lived in separation from his wife. It is not always safe to attribute the events of the life of the hero to the life of the author. The mere similarity in the subject matter of two verses also cannot indicate the identity of their authors. Kālidāsa might have written a poem entitled *Setuvandhakāvya* at the request of Pravarasena, but this Pravarasena might be the Vākāṭaka king of that name and that would make Kālidāsa a contemporary of Vikramāditya Chandragupta II. Lastly, the method of reaching at a specified date of history by means of astronomical calculations has not been generally successful. Even if it be a fact that Kālidāsa flourished in the middle of the 6th century, that is no sure reason for identifying him with Mātṛgupta.

Mātṛgupta, however, appears to have been a historical character, who lived in Kāśmīra, if not at the end of the 6th century A.D., at least in an earlier period. His commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* is referred to in Sundaramiśra's *Nāṭyapradīpa*..[9] Kṣemendra quotes the opinions of Mātṛgupta in one of his works.[10] Some of his verses have also found place in Vallabhadeva's anthology.[11]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[12], Kalhaṇa tells his readers that king Mātṛgupta honoured the poet Meṇṭha, for composing the poem *Hayagrīvavadha*, by presenting a golden dish to be placed below it, lest its flavour might escape. Honoured by such an appreciation Bhartṛmeṇṭha thought richer rewards needless. The poem *Hayagrīvavadha* is lost. The date of Meṇṭha is also not known for certain. But Meṇṭha or Bhartṛmeṇṭha seems to have been a person of fame. He receives the honour of being placed second in the spiritual lineage of Vālmīki.[13] The Kāśmīrian writer Mankha places him with Subandhu, Bhāravī and Bāṇa. The first verse of his great poem *Hayagrīvavadha* which runs as

āsīddaityo Hayagrīvaḥ suhṛdveśmasu yasya tāḥ ।
prathayanti valaṁ vāhyoḥ sitacchatrasmitāḥ śriyaḥ ॥

is quoted by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamimāṁsā* and by Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛttatilaka*. Some verses are extracted under Meṇṭha or Hastipaka's name in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* and other anthologies.[14] Dr. Bhau Daji finds one of his verses occurring in Rāghava's commentary of *Śakuntalā*.[15]

Some verses are attributed to Gonanda, Gopāditya and Raṇāditya in the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*[16] and in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[17] Are they to be identified with the Kāśmīrian kings of their names mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*? Unfortunately, we have nothing against which we can check the evidence and prove or reject such a theory.

Candragomin, the founder of the Candra School of Sanskrit grammar, probably lived in Kāśmīra. According to Kalhaṇa's evidence, Candrācārya revived the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* and composed his own grammar[18] during the reign of king Abhimanyu. Bhartṛhari mentions Baiji, Sauva and Haryakṣa, who lived before Candrācārya and who by their uncritical methods did much to push the *Mahābhāṣya* to the background.[19] A later Tibetan work records the censure of Patañjali's work by Candragomin.[20] It is thus quite likely that Candrācārya and Candragomin are identical persons.

Kalhaṇa's testimony does not give any clue regarding the date of Candragomin. But it is clear from his statement that the grammarian flourished long before the advent of the Karkoṭas.[21] His Buddhistic title 'gomin' and the *Maṅgalaśloka* of his *vṛtti* in which he pays reverence to Sarvajña, tend to prove that Candragomin was a follower of Buddha. This litterateur recasts the work of Pāṇini and reduces the master's eight chapters into six of four sections each. He often re-arranges and simplifies Pāṇini. But excepting thirty-five new *sūtras*, there is nothing much original in his work.

Kalhaṇa says that while writing the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, he received considerable informations regarding the earlier periods from a work entitled the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.[22] The date of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* is uncertain. But Kalhaṇa's reference to it as a work of high antiquity may suggest a date earlier than the accession of the Karkoṭas. The mention of Buddha in the work as an incarnation of Viṣṇu has led some scholars to assign the book not much earlier than the 7th century A.D.[23]

The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* describes at great length how Kāśmīra was created out of water and left to the care of the Nāgas of whom Nīla was the chief. Kāśmīra, according to this work, was Satī transformed into land. At Vāsukī's request, Viṣṇu agreed to apportion the great lake of the land of Satī as a dwelling place for the Nāgas, where they would be safe from Garuḍa. Viṣṇu further ordered Garuḍa to make Nīla, the chief of all Nāgas.

At that time, a water demon named Jalodbhava was causing great trouble by killing the inhabitants of Dārvābhisa, Gandhāra, Jālaṁdhara and other neighbouring regions. Nīla went to his father Kaśyapa and asked him to devise means by which the wicked demon could be got rid of. At the request of Kaśyapa, the gods came down to Kāśmīra to fight the water demon and Viṣṇu ultimately slew him.

Next the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* relates how Kāśmīra came to be inhabited by human beings. After the valley was recovered, people could at first live for only six months and during the rest of the year, the country was occupied by the Piśācas under their king Nikumbha. Nikumbha left the valley with the whole of his army at the beginning of spring to fight the goblins of the ocean of sands. Then the men came to Kāśmīra, lived during the summer and after gathering their harvest left the valley before the advent of the winter when the Piśāca king returned and when no human being could live in the valley due to excessive cold. This continued for four *yugas*. Then a Brāhmaṇa, Candradeva by name, did not leave the valley during the winter and spent the season in the sub-terranean palace of Nīla, the king of the Nāgas. Candradeva prayed before Nīla that in future people should be allowed to live in Kāśmīra during the winter also, to which the Nāga king agreed. Nīla furthermore declared to the Brāhmaṇa the rites which were to be observed by the future inhabitants. Henceforth, there was no more any excessive snow-fall or trouble from the Piśācas and slowly men came to live in the valley throughout the year.

The rites proclaimed by Nīla are very similar to the socio-religious ceremonies and festivals observed in the plains of India. There can be little doubt that the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* is a handbook of rites and ceremonies which were observed by the people of ancient Kāśmīra. But besides being a handbook of rites and ceremonies, it is also 'a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kāśmīra and their legends which are required in order to explain the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and that it shows how Kalhaṇa used his sources'[24] and it is here that the greatest importance of the work lies.

In addition to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, there are other texts of a somewhat similar pattern, known as *māhātmyas*, which also are useful for the interpretation of various legends connected with the sacred sites of Kāśmīra. The exact date of composition of the numerous *Sthānamāhātmyas* that put forward the false claim that they were extracted from the *Purāṇas* cannot be determined with certainty. But though they use many old materials, in their present form they seem to belong to a comparatively later period. At least there is nothing to prove that this bulk of literary works were composed in the pre-Muslim Kāśmīra.

Kalhaṇa's very frequent references to numerous Kāśmīrian authors and their works enable us to follow the history of Sanskrit literature of Kāśmīra with tolerable accuracy from the 8th century onwards. The works of many of the writers themselves have also survived and some of these contain valuable informations about other foregoing and contemporary writers and their compositions. Vallabhadeva's (15th century A.D.) *Subhāsitāvalī* which is an anthology of verses compiled from the writings of various poets of ancient India and particularly of Kāśmīra, is also a very valuable work which helps a lot to trace the early literary history of the valley.

Of the poets of the Karkoṭa period, Kalhaṇa mentions Dāmodaragupta[25], Manoratha, Śankhadatta, Caṭaka and Saṁdhimat[26] who flourished in the court of king Jayāpīḍa. Dāmodaragupta is said to have written a book called *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*.[27] This work has survived. It is a practical treatise on erotics. Full of interesting stories, the book incidentally throws a flood of light on the contemporary social life. Several verses of Manoratha seem to occur in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāsitāvalī*.[28] About the other three poets Śankhadatta, Caṭaka and Saṁdhimat, nothing is known. In the reign of the Karkoṭa king Ajitāpīḍa, there lived a poet named Śaṅkuka who composed a poem called *Bhuvanābhyūdaya*. The theme of the book was centred round the conflict between the regents Mamma and Utpalaka.[29] The work has not come down but quotations from it are presented in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[30] Śaṅkuka's verse has also been quoted in *Śārngadharapaddhati* and *Sūktimuktāvalī*, and there his father's name has been given as Mayūra.[31] Further, the name of Śaṅkuka has been referred to in the fourth chapter of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and his opinion on a point of poetics is considered authoritative.[32]

It is quite likely that some of the Karkoṭa kings themselves cultivated the art of poetry; fragments of poems written by Muktāpīḍa and Jayāpīḍa are preserved in *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[33]

The early Kāśmīrians were as distinguished in the field of poetics as in poetry and the Karkoṭa period produced some great writers on the subject. The oldest of them is Bhāmaha, son of Rakrilagomin. Probably he lived in the beginning of the 8th century.[34] Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*[35] is the earliest work of poetics which has come down to us. It contains 398 verses and is divided into six chapters which deal with such topics as *kāvyaśarīra*, *alaṁkāra*, *doṣa*, *nyāya* and *śabdaśuddhi*.

Whether Bhāmaha was a Buddhist or not, has been a matter of much controversy among historians. The *Kāmadhenu* and the *Vṛttaratnākara* quote some verses from Bhāmaha which are not found in the *Kāvyālaṁkāra*. Some of these verses indicate that Bhāmaha wrote a book on metrics also. Bhāmaha's views and writings have been quoted by Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, and Vāmana. Udbhaṭa, the court poet of Jayāpīḍa[36] appears to have written a gloss on his *Kāvyālaṁkāra-Saṁgraha* named *Bhāmahavivarṇa*[37], but the work is not extant.

Udbhaṭa was a reputed writer on *alaṁkāra*. Besides *Bhāmahavivarṇa*, he wrote an independent treatise, the *Alaṁkāra-saṁgraha*[38]. In six chapters and in seventy nine *kārikās*, it defines forty-one types of figures of speech. Udbhaṭa wrote a poem too, entitled the *Kumārasambhava*. The work has not survived, but some verses from it are found in his *Alaṁkāra-saṁgraha*.

Udbhaṭa's contemporary was Vāmana, another writer on poetics, who also adorned the court of Jayāpīḍa.[39] His *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra*[40] is divided into five chapters and deals with the whole sphere of *alaṁkāra-śāstra*. According to Vāmana, the soul of the poetry is the style (*rīti*).

Lollaṭa, who according to the evidence of Abhinavagupta, controverted the view of Udbhaṭa, might have lived in the beginning of the 9th century. He seems to have championed the theory of *rasa*. None of his work has come down, but he is credited by Abhinavagupta and other later writers with the authorship of a commentary on Bharata. Some of his verses are quoted by Mammaṭa and Hemacandra. From quotations preserved by Abhinavagupta it appears that Śaṅkuka criticized his theories on *rasa*. It is not clear whether this Śaṅkuka is the author who wrote *Bhuvanābhyūdaya* composed during the reign of Ajitāpīḍa.

The Karkoṭa rule was supplanted by that of the Utpalas. Among the poets of this age, Kalhaṇa mentions Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmin, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara who obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883).[41]

Śivasvāmin, also known as Bhaṭṭa Śivasvāmin, was an ardent follower of Buddha. He wrote a poem named *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, describing the expedition of Kapphiṇa, king of Dakṣiṇāpatha against Prasenajit of Śrāvastī. At the end of the war, which resulted in his victory, Kapphiṇa accepted Buddhism and renounced his worldly attachments.[42] Some of the verses of Śivasvāmin are quoted in Kṣemendra's *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*[43] and Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[44] Otherwise, Muktākaṇa is known only from quotations preserved in Kṣemendra's *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Suvṛttatilaka*.[45] Ratnākara has been identified with the author of the great *kāvya* named

Haravijaya, an enormous epic in fifty cantos which describes the defeat of demon Andhaka in the hands of Śiva. From the colophon of the work, it seems that Ratnākara whose full name is given as Rājānaka Ratnākara Vāgīśvara composed the poem during the reign of king Bṛhaspati Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa,[46] who, according to Kalhaṇa, died forty years before the accession of Avantivarman.[47] It is possible that Ratnākara started his career under Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa but was patronised also by Avantivarman. Besides the *Haravijaya Kāvya*, Ratnākara is credited with the composition of two smaller poems, *Vakroktī Pañcāśikā*[48] and *Dhvanigāthā pañcikā*. Some of his verses have found place in Kṣemendra's *Suvṛttatilaka*,[49] in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*[50] and in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*.[51] The fame of Ratnākara seems to have spread outside and the poet Rājaśekhara praises him for his vast learning and wealth of imagery.[52]

The fame of Ānandavardhana rests principally on his treatise on the science of poetics. His great work *Dhvanyāloka*, *Kāvyāloka* or *Sahṛdayāloka* is a commentary in four chapters on certain verses treating *dhvani* as the soul of poetry. Abhinavagupta's elucidation on it, the *Locana*, has given the work a wide reputation. Besides *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana composed several poems in Sanskrit and in Prākṛt. His *Devīśataka* is a lyric written in praise of Pārvatī. The other poetical compositions are *Arjunacaritamahākāvya* (Sanskrit), *Viṣamavanalīlā*, *Harivijaya* (both Prākṛt) and *Mataparīkṣā*.[53]

In the same period as Ānandavardhana, seem to have lived three other reputed rhetoricians of Kāśmīra, Rudraṭa, Mukula and Indurāja.

Rudraṭa, also called Śatananda was the son of Vāmana. His *Kāvyālaṁkāra*[54] in 16 chapters deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense. He represents the *alaṁkāra* school and is opposed to the theory of Vāmana that *rīti* is the soul of poetry.

According to Jacobi, Rudraṭa lived during Avantivarman's reign and the example of Vakrokti given by Rudraṭa (II, 15) was prompted by Ratnākara in his *Vakroktipañcāśikā*.[55] Rudraṭa was not the author of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* as some scholars have presumed[56]; the book was written by Rudrabhaṭṭa.

Mukula was the son of the famous Śaiva philosopher Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who lived in the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). His *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā*[57] deals with the theory of various rhetoricians on *abhidhā*, the 'appellative power' residing in words.

Indurāja, also known as Pratihārendurāja, was a pupil of Mukula. He was born in Konkan, but afterwards migrated to Kāśmīra. Only one work, written by him, has come to us. It is a commentary on Udbhaṭā's *Kāvyālaṁkāra* and is entitled the *Kāvyālaṁkārasāralaghuvṛtti*.[58]

We learn from Kalhaṇa that a poet named Bhallaṭa lived in the reign of Śaṁkaravarman.[59] An extant work named *Bhallaṭaśataka*[60] evidently belongs to him. Verses from this work have been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra and Mammaṭa. Some passages from this work also occur in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*.

Another contemporary litterateur of Śaṁkaravarman was Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. Three books of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa have so far been recovered. They are the *Nyāyamañjarī*[61] the *Nyāyakalikā* and the *Āgamaḍambara*.[62] All of them are standard works on *nyāyaśāstra*. In the *Nyāyamañjarī* and *Āgamaḍambara*, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa mentions the name of king Śaṁkaravarman. So he can not be placed earlier than that monarch (A.D. 883-902). Then, the author of the *Kādambarī*, Abhinanda, who was Jayanta's son, says that Jayanta's great grandfather was a minister of Lalitāditya. Lalitāditya reigned about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Jayanta, being four generations removed from Lalitāditya, could not possibly have lived much later than the last quarter of the 9th century.

It is not unlikely that king Śaṁkaravarman himself also composed several poems. In the chapter on political history it has been noted that another name of Śaṁkaravarman was Yaśovarman. A lost drama entitled *Rāmābhyūdaya*, written by one Yaśovarman, which is cited by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka*,[63] probably belongs to him. Some verses, written by a poet called Yaśovarman are also preserved in the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* and *Subhāṣitāvalī*.[64] Possibly they were written by Śaṁkaravarman alias Yaśovarman.

The poet who comes next is Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, whose *Kādambarī-Kathāsāra* is a metrical summary of Bāṇa's prose romance. Abhinanda traces his ancestry from Śakti, who was originally an inhabitant of the Gauḍa country but afterwards migrated from his native province and settled in Kāśmīra. From Abhinavagupta's mention of poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta at the end of the 10th century[65] and from the fact that Abhinanda's father Jayanta was a contemporary of Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), it may be inferred that Abhinanda lived in the first part of the 10th century. Although Abhinanda mentions one of his ancestors as an inhabitant of Gauḍa, it is not clear whether he is the same as Gauḍa-Abhinanda, whose verses are quoted in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*.[66] Some of the anthologies such as *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, *Sadūktikarṇāmṛta* and *Sūktimuktāvalī* quote verses written by an Abhinanda and not Gauḍa-Abhinanda. The *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* which refers to him can not be assigned to a period later than the 10th century. So Abhinanda of the anthologies could not have been much removed from the author of the *Kathāsāra*. But it is not known whether this Abhinanda of the anthologies is identical with Gauḍa Abhinanda or with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta. The author of the *Kathāsāra*, however, must be distinguished from another Abhinanda, the son of Śatananda and the writer of an epic called *Rāmacarita*.[67] The name of Abhinanda has been mentioned and his poem *Kādambarī-Kathāsāra* has been held in high esteem by some later Kāśmīrian writers.[68]

As already noted in the chapter on religion, Kāśmīra was a land par excellence of the Śaiva faith and it had developed a particular system of Śivaite philosophy based on the principle of idealistic monism (*advaita*). The earliest writers, who propounded and expanded this doctrine, belonged to the Utpala period. The exact date of Vasugupta, the founder of the Kāśmīra Śaivism is not known for certain. But as his disciple Kallaṭa lived at the end of the 9th century A.D.,[69] he also may be placed near about the same period. Most of his works are now lost. His *Spandāmṛta* has probably been incorporated in the *Spandakārikās* and his commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā* called the *Vāsavī-Ṭīkā* may perhaps be traced in the first six chapters of another *Ṭīkā* on the *Bhagavad Gītā* called *Lāsakī*, by Rājānaka Lasakāka. About the personality and lineage of Vasugupta, all that we learn from his pupils is that he lived in his retirement as a holy sage in the Ṣaḍarhadvana (Harwan).

According to Kalhaṇa's evidence, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa 'descended to the earth for the benefit of the people' at the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). He was a pupil of Vasugupta and wrote a commentary called *Spandasarvasva* on his teacher's *Spandāmṛta*. It is still extant[70]. He was also the author of the *Spandakārikās*, an exposition on the work of Vasugupta.[71] His two other books, the *Tatvārtha-Cintāmaṇi* and the *Madhuvāhinī*, are now lost. Both of them were commentaries on the Śiva Sūtras.

The next author on Śaiva philosophy was Somānanda. He wrote *Śivadṛṣṭi* and a *vṛtti* on it in which he marshalled philosophical reasonings in support of Vasugupta's teachings. Abhinavagupta, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the first part of the 11th century, was fourth in succession from Somānanda in a line of spiritual tutelage. Somānanda, therefore, might have flourished towards the end of the 9th century.[72] Somānanda was most probably a pupil of Vasugupta.

Somānanda's disciple Utpala was the author of as many as six works. These were *Pratyabhijñākārikās*, *Vṛtti* on it, *Ṭīkā* on it (lost), *Iśvara-siddhi*, *Ajaḍapramātṛ-siddhi* and *Stotrāvalī*. He possibly flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century.

Utpalācārya's pupil Rāmakaṇṭha (c. 925 A.D.) wrote a work entitled the *Spandavivṛti*. He is also credited with the composition of two commentaries, one on the *Mātaṅga Tantra* and the other on the *Bhagavad Gītā*. None of the commentaries, however, has come down to us.

In the later part of the 10th century, comes Mahāmaheśvara Abhinavagupta. A prolific writer, he obtained as great a reputation in the field of poetics as in *Śaivadarśana*. From a study of the concluding portions of his two works, *Tantrāloka* and *Parātriṁśikāvivaraṇa*, we learn that he was born in a reputed Brāhmaṇa family. His grandfather was Varāhagupta; his father was Narasiṁhagupta alias Cukhala; and his younger brother was Manorothagupta. In quest of learning, he travelled over various parts of Kāśmīra and also visited many places outside the valley. Among his teachers were Bhaṭṭendurāja, Lakṣmaṇagupta and Bhaṭṭa Tauṭa.

Abhinavagupta wrote as many as forty one books,[73] some of which exist, while several are known only by name. His *Locana*[74] is an extremely profound and difficult commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*. His *Nāṭyalocana* and *Abhinavabhāratī* are commentaries on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśastra*. Among works other than those of Śaiva philosophy, he composed *Bhairavastotra*, *Mohopadeśaviṁśati*, *Kramastotra* and *Ghaṭakarparavivṛti*. His more important works on Śaiva philosophy include *Para-Triṁśikāvivaraṇa*, *Śiva-Dṛṣṭyālocana*, *Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī*, *Pratyabhijñāvivṛti vimarśinī*, *Tantrāloka*, *Tantrasāra*, *Paramārthasāra* and *Mālinīvijayavārttika*.

Abhinava's literary career extended over a quarter of a century from the year 4066 (the date of composition of *Kramastotra*) to the year 4090 (the date of composition of the *Bṛhat Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī*) of the Laukika era, i.e., 990-1014 A.D. In view of the fact that his literary career started in a fairly mature age, his date of birth may be placed sometime between 950 and 960 A.D.

Not long after Abhinavagupta, came Mahimabhaṭṭa, the rhetorician. In his *Vyaktiviveka*,[75] he controverted the *dhvani* theory of Abhinavagupta. He was a champion of the *anumāna* theory of *rasa* and according to him all that pass by the name of *dhvani* are really cases of inference.[76] Mahimabhaṭṭa's attempt to kill the theory of *dhvani*, however, seems to have apparently failed as it could not convince the later writers who often quote him but only to refute his theory.

Mahimabhaṭṭa quotes Abhinavagupta who lived at least upto 1014 A.D. His own works have been reviewed by Mammaṭa, whose approximate date is the middle of the 11th century. Mahima thus flourished between the two. Mahimabhaṭṭa's preceptor Śyāmala has been referred to by Kṣemendra, who lived between 1014 and 1066. This also agrees well with the view that Mahimabhaṭṭa lived in the first half of the 11th century.

Mahimabhaṭṭa wrote another book, the *Tattvoktikoṣa*,[77] in which he discussed the nature of *pratibhā*.

Kṣemendra, the next great litterateur, ' was not a man to hide his light under a bushel, and he has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time '. He was born in a well-to-do family. His father's name was Prakāśendra and grandfather's name Sindhu. By birth he was a Śaiva but laterly, under the teachings of Somācārya Bhāgavata, he became Vaiṣṇava.

His course of studies seems to have comprised all the sciences and arts then known in Kāśmīra. He had a thorough knowledge of mathematics, astrology, medicine, surgery, politics, erotics, and Buddhist philosophy. Kṣemendra says that he left the company of dry logicians and grammarians but studied all the lexicons of his time. He was particularly fond of songs, *gāthās*, novels and interesting conceits of poetry.

Kṣemendra is silent about the date of his birth. But he says in his *Bhārata-mañjarī* that he studied literature with Abhinavagupta, author of the *Vidyāvivṛti* or the *Pratyabhijñā-vṛhatī-vimarśinī*. As Abhinavagupta composed his famous commentary on *Pratyabhiñjā* philosophy in 1014 A.D., it is apparent that Kṣemendra was born much earlier. His *Daśāvatāracarita* was composed in the Laukika year 4141 or 1066 A.D. Probably he lived a little longer.

Kṣemendra was a versatile genius. He wrote poems, narratives, didactic and satiric sketches and treatises on rhetoric and prosody. His *Bhāratamañjarī*, *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī*, *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, *Padyakādambarī* (lost) and *Avadānakalpalatā* are, respectively, the abstracts of the two great epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and the Buddhist *Avadānas*. All these were written in verse. Among his other works, known only by name, are *Saśīvaṁśamahākāvya*, *Amṛtaraṅgakāvya*, *Avasarasāra*, *Muktāvalī*, *Vātsyāyana-sūtra-sāra*, *Lalitaratnamālā*, *Kaṇakajānakī*, *Nṛpāvalī*, *Lavaṇyāvatī* and *Pavanapañcāśikā*. His known and printed works include *Nītikalpataru*, *Cārucaryā*, *Deśopadeśa*, *Narmamālā*, *Nītilatā*, *Vinayāvallī*, *Darpadalana*, *Sevyasevakopadeśa*, *Munimatamīmāṁsā*, *Caturvarga-saṁgraha*, *Aucityavicāracarcā*, *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Daśāvatāracarita*.

In *Samayamātṛkā*,[78] one of his most original poems, he describes the arts and trickeries of the harlot. The merit of the work lies in its vivid description of droll life painted with great sharpness of phrasing and characterisation. His *Sevyasevakopadeśa*[79] contains shrewd reflections on the relation between master and servant. The *Cārucaryā*,[80] a century of moral aphorisms, gives a pleasing picture of virtue's ways of pleasantness in contemporary Kāśmīra. The *Caturvarga Saṁgraha* deals with the four objects of human life, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *moksa*. The *Darpadalana*[81] is a denunciatory harrangue against human pride which is said to have sprung from birth, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, charity and asceticism. They are dealt separately in each chapter with illustrations on each type of boaster. The *Kalāvilāsa*[82] is a satirical poem of ten cantos in which Mūladeva, the legendary master of trickery instructs his young disciple in the arts of roguery. Kṣemendra's *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā*,[83] like *Kalāvilāsa*, also represent his satirical proclivity of mind. In the former, he dilates upon the daily life of different depraved sections of people inhabiting the valley such as cheat, miser, prostitute, bawd, ostentatious voluptuary, students of Gauḍa, old man marrying young wives, degraded Śaiva Guru, the ignorant grammarians etc. The *Narmamālā* is a sharp satire on the misrule and oppression of the Kāyasthas, before the time of Ananta. In his *Aucityavicāracarcā*[84], Kṣemendra tries to propound that propriety or *aucitya* is the soul of poetry and the figures of speech, if they overstep their proper limits, hurt the *rasa*. In the *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* he discusses with the subjects of *kavitvaprāpti*, *śikṣā*, *camatkṛti*, *guṇadoṣabodha* and *paricayaprāpti*. Kṣemendra's *Daśāvatāracarita*[85] gives in regular *kāvya* style, an account of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya, which is nothing but an abstraction of the Purāṇic stories.

Mammaṭabhaṭṭa, the rhetorician, seems to have been a later contemporary of Kṣemendra. He refers to Abhinavagupta, Mahimabhaṭṭa and king Bhoja and as such must have lived in or about 1050 A.D.[86] Though a native of Kāśmīra, he took his early education at Benares. He was a Śaiva by faith and was also a staunch supporter of the grammarian school.[87] His *Kāvyaprakāśa*, a superb work of compilation, is divided into ten sections (*ullāsa*). It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, deals with the merits and demerits of poetry, the junctions of different words and their sources and the figures of speech. But Mammaṭa was not only a compiler, he was a critic too. He champions the theory of *dhvani* and attacks the views of Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Mahimabhaṭṭa and others. Ruyyaka, in his *Saṁketa* commentary says that Mammaṭa could not finish his work, and it was completed by somebody else. This view receives support from other commentators as well and Rājānaka Ānanda, in his commentary, says that Mammaṭa wrote up to *parikara alaṁkāra* and the remaining portion was written by Allaṭa.[88] The *Kāvyaprakāśa* has two parts *kārikās* and *vṛtti*. According to some authorities, the *kārikās* were written by Bharata and the *vṛtti* by Mammaṭa.[89] Mammaṭa wrote another book entitled the *Śavdavyāpāracarcā*, on the derivation and functions of words.[90]

Somadeva, the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[91] was another later contemporary of Kṣemendra. He composed his work for the amusement of Sūryamatī, the mother of king Kalaśa and grandmother of Harṣa. Evidently, it was written sometime between 1063 and 1089 A.D., when Kalaśa was on the throne and Sūryamatī was still alive. The main theme of Somadeva's work, like Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, seems to be the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, son of Udayana and his final attainment of Madanamañjarikā as his wife and the land of the Vidyādharas as his kingdom. A large number of tales, legends and witty stories is dovetailed into the principal narrative, which indeed make the collection an ocean of the streams of stories. It consists of 18 books of 124 chapters and more than 21,000 verses. Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* is generally said to have been adopted from Guṇaḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* written in Paiśācī dialect. But the Kāśmīrian *Bṛhatkathā*, from which both Kṣemendra and Somadeva drew their inspiration, was most probably not the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. It seems to have been an old Kāśmīrian version of the same, which had undergone many changes. This is apparent from the comparative evidence of the contents of the two Kāśmīrian versions, and from their divergency with the Nepal edition of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* of Buddhasvāmin.[92]

About the same period as Kṣemendra, also lived Kṣemarāja, the writer on Śaiva philosophy. Both of them were pupils of Abhinavagupta and as such Kṣemarāja seems to have flourished about the beginning of the 11th century. Continuing the labours of his master, Kṣemarāja wrote a number of works on Kāśmīra Śaivism. The chief extant works of his are *Pratyabhijñā-Hṛdaya*, *Spanda Sandoha*, *Spanda Nirṇaya*, *Svacchandoddyota*, *Netroddyota*, *Vijñāna-Bhairavaddyota*, *Siva-Sūtra-vṛtti*, *Siva-Sūtra vimarśinī*, *Stava-cintāmaṇiṭīkā*, *Utpalastotrāvalīṭīkā*, *Para-Praveśikā* and *Tattva Sandoha*.

Another Śaivaite writer, Bhāskara, who was five generations removed from Kallaṭa in a direct line of spiritual descent, was probably a contemporary of Kṣemarāja. He embodied in his *Śiva Sūtra-vārttika* the teachings of Vasugupta. Kṣemendra's pupil Yogarāja may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century. He started his studies with Abhinavagupta and wrote a commentary on his *Paramārthasāra*.

The poet who followed next was Bilhaṇa. From the last canto of his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* we learn that he was born at Khonamuṣa, near Pravarapura, of a pious and learned Madhyadeśī Brāhmaṇa family. His father was Jyeṣṭhakalaśa and mother was Nāgadevī. Bilhaṇa received his early education at Kāśmīra and obtained proficiency in grammar and poetics. At the time of the nominal accession of Kalaśa, when Ananta was still alive, he left Kāśmīra and set out on his wanderings in quest of fame and fortune. The places which he visited were Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Prayāga, and Vārānasī. At the Court of Kṛṣṇa of Ḍāhala, he stayed for sometime and probably wrote a poem in honour of Rāma. On leaving Ḍāhala the poet visited Western India, attracted by the fame of the courts of Dhārā and Anhilwad and the sanctity of Somnāth Paṭhan. For some reason not stated, he did not go to Bhoja of Dhārā. After spending sometime at Anhilwad, Bilhaṇa embarked from there for southern India and visited Rāmeśvara. On his way back, he reached the court of Kalyāṇa, where the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1076-1127) admired him and made him his Vidyāpati. From the last verses of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, it appears that latterly he fell into disfavour with Vikramāditya VI and had to leave his kingdom. Does it account for the incomplete narrative of Bilhaṇa which stops with Vikramāditya's Cola war and never refers to his activities beyond the Narmadā in 1088?

The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* is a poem of 18 cantos which glorifies king Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa. It opens with an eulogistic account of the Cālukya dynasty. Then the exploits of king Vikramāditya's father are described at some length. At the end the poet comes to Vikramāditya VI and depicts with usual amplifications ' the conquests of Vikramāditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Someśvara II, his defeat and capture of his younger and his numerous wars with the faithless Colas '. Though Bilhaṇa has taken a historical theme for his subject matter, his work, in all its essentials, is a *kāvya* and not a history.

His *Karṇasundarī*[93] was written as a compliment to the Cālukya Karṇadeva of Anhilwad whose marriage with a princess it delineates, under the guise of a romantic tale.

Another poem, *Cauri* or *Caura-Surata-Pañcāśikā*, which is of unknown date and authorship is generally ascribed to Bilhaṇa. The poem consists of fifty amatory verses, sung in the first person, on the topic of secret love. In one of the South Indian versions, a text called *Bilhaṇa Kāvya* is attached to the poem, which says that Bilhaṇa repeated these verses when, caught in a secret intrigue with the daughter of a king, he was going to be executed. These glowing verses uttered by the poet moved the king who ordered his release and gave his daughter in marriage with him. But the story differs widely in different versions. Similar tales are told about other poets and the place of occurrence of the alleged incident also varies. Under these circumstances, it seems that the *Caura Kavi* was not identical with Bilhaṇa. The stanzas of *Caurapañcāśikā* were probably some floating verses of unknown authorship which were ascribed to different writers in different periods.

Not long after Bilhaṇa, came the poet Śambhu, who lived in the court of king Harṣa. His *Rājendra Karṇapura*[94] is a high flown panegyric eulogising his patron and his *Anyoktimuktālatā*[95] is a collection of verses on various topics indicating indirect meaning.

The First Lohara dynasty came to an end with the death of Harṣa and the second year of the 12th century marked the accession of the Second Lohara dynasty on Kāśmīra throne. Among the litterateurs who received patronage of this court, were the celebrated poets Jalhaṇa, Mankha and Kalhaṇa.

Jalhaṇa was a contemporary of Uccala. We learn from Mankha that when Sussala acceded to the throne after Uccala's death, he left the valley and went to the court of Rājapurī. There he wrote a poem called *Somapālavilāsa* on the history of the king Somapāla. His *Mugdhopadeśa*[96] is a poem ethical in character.

Mankha or Mankhaka wrote his poem *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* between the years 1135 A.D and 1145 A.D. The theme of the work is the Purāṇic legend of Śiva's overthrow of Tripura. But besides the story of Tripura's defeat, several cantos are employed in describing the usual accessories allowed in *kāvyas*, the seasons, the sunsets, the sunrises, court scenes, amusements etc. In the third canto the author gives an account of his family from which we learn that his grandfather's name was Manmatha and his father was Viśvavrata. He had three other brothers, Śṛṅgāra, Bhaṅga and Alaṁkāra, all employed as state officials. Mankha himself held high office under Jayasiṁha but it is unknown what his designation was. The twenty-fifth or last canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is particularly interesting as it gives the names of thirty contemporary scholars, poets and officials who assembled at the house of Alaṁkāra on the occasion of the completion and public reading of the poem. Though as a pupil of the famous rhetorician Ruyyaka, Mankha shows some cleverness in rhetorical ornaments, it must be admitted that his work lacks lucidity of expression, freshness and variety.

A dictionary called *Mankhakoṣa* is current in Kāśmīra. It is not known whether the writer of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is also the author of this lexicon.

As already noted, Mankha mentions some of his contemporary poets in the last canto of his book. They are Ānanda (XXV, 84), Kalyāṇa (XXV, 80), Garga (XXV, 50), Govinda (XXV, 77), Jalhaṇa (XXV, 75), Paṭu (XXV, 131), Padmarāja (XXV, 86), Bhuḍḍa (XXV, 82), Losṭhadeva (XXV, 36), Vāgīśvara (XXV, 127), Śrīgarbha (XXV, 50) and Śrīvatsa (XXV, 82). Jalhaṇa has been already referred to. About the rest, nothing else is known from any other source.

Kalhaṇa, the celebrated poet-historian of Kāśmīra was the son of a high functionary of the Kāśmīra State. His father Caṇpaka was the '*dvārapati*' or 'Commandant of the frontier passes' during the reign of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).

Kalhaṇa's ambition of life was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kāśmīra. When Jayasiṁha became the king of Kāśmīra, after the death of Sussala (A.D. 1127), Kalhaṇa became his court-poet. He composed his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* between the years 1149-50.

According to Kāśmīrian tradition, Kalhaṇa wrote another poem *Jayasiṁhābhyudaya*, probably an eulogy of his patron, king Jayasiṁha of Kāśmīra. The book has not yet been discovered but a verse from this poem has been quoted in *Ratnakathāsārasamuccaya*.

Though Kalhaṇa does not say anything about his own caste, he seems to be a Brāhmaṇa. His vast learning as expressed in the *Rājataraṅgīṇī* accords well with the reputation generally enjoyed by the Brahmin *pandits* of Kāśmīra. Kalhaṇa's sympathy towards the Brāhmaṇas, as revealed in the pages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, also tends to show that he was probably a Brāhmaṇa. Every doubt in this regard is dispelled by Jonarāja, the writer of the *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī*, who calls Kalhaṇa clearly as '*dvija*'. Kalhaṇa was a Śaiva in his religious belief. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, he pays his devotion in the opening verse of each *taraṅga* to the Lord Śiva and his consort Gaurī.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* consists of eight books or *taraṅgas*. The first book deals with the Gonanda dynasty, several local rulers, Aśoka and his successors, the Turuṣkas i.e. the Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas. Book II treats of a line of Kāśmīra rulers, unconnected with Gonanda's dynasty. The third book begins with the restoration of the Gonanda dynasty and mentions several rulers among whom Pravarasena and perhaps Toramāṇa may be recognized as historical figures. Book IV starts with the accession of the Karkoṭa dynasty. Some of the kings, belonging to this dynasty, are also known from other sources. The Karkoṭa dynasty was overthrown by the Utpalas. The history of Utpala dynasty occupies the fifth book of Kalhaṇa. The sixth *taraṅga* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* describes Kāśmīra under the descendants of Vīradeva and Abhinava. The seventh book opens with the accession of Saṁgrāmarāja of the Lohara kingdom to the throne of Kāśmīra and ends with the dethronement and death of Harṣa. The dynasty to which these rulers belonged is regarded as the First Lohara dynasty. The eighth book starts with the accession of the Second Lohara dynasty and gives a long account of the reigns of Uccala, Sussala and Sussala's son Jayasiṁha, the reigning sovereign of Kalhaṇa's time. Though the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is a literary production of high merit, it will not be doing justice to Kalhaṇa, if we regard his poem simply as a *mahākāvya*. It is an admirable collection of historical facts presented in an illuminating garb of poetry and soars in the region of fine art. History takes wings from the inimitable pen of Kalhaṇa.

Kalhaṇa generally indicates the materials which he used for his narrative. He mentions several previous writers on the history of Kāśmīra. Among these were Suvrata 'whose work', he says, 'was made difficult by misplaced learning; Kṣemendra who drew up a list of kings, *Nṛpāvalī*, of which, however, no part was free from mistakes; Nīlamuni, who wrote the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*; Helarāja, who composed a list of kings, in twelve thousand verses; and Śrīmihira or Padmamihira, and the author *Srī Chavillākara*'. His own work was based on eleven collections of *Rājakathās* or stories about kings and on the works of Nīlamuni. He further tells us that he took the help of many inscriptions, grants and manuscripts to write his book.

Some of the sources mentioned above, which Kalhaṇa used for his narrative, were themselves of uncertain historical character. Hence the early part of his work, especially the first three books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* have become a conglomeration of history and vague legends. The poet-historian, however, shows more precision from the fourth book onwards for which he had probably at his disposal, materials of a truly historical character, presumably coins and inscriptions, as well as other indigenous sources. The seventh and eighth books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* are graphic and full of facts. The reason is not far to seek. Kalhaṇa was a contemporary of the monarchs of the eighth book and for the history of Harṣa and other immediately preceding rulers, he had most probably informations from his father and other older contemporaries.

Inspite of the lack of historical materials in the early portions of his work, Kalhaṇa's splendour of imagination, depth and range of thought and above all the power of centralizing many talents to a single purpose, had given his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* a literary immortality. Among the special merits of Kalhaṇa as a historian, Stein mentions his impartiality and independence, individuality of his characters, accuracy of geneological statements, high sense of historical truthfulness in later parts of the Chronicle and exactness of topographical details.[97] To these may be added his rare sense of appreciation of the philosophy of history, a quality rare among the writers of the past. Kalhaṇa's account is not written to enforce any particular lesson. He lets his tale tell itself in the deeds and words of those who act it out. This of course does not mean that he confines himself to a mere report. Beside the narrator stands the thinker, explaining the facts by causes and reasons, exposing the principles which underlie them. But he does not use the facts to illustrate his thesis, much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them.

We realise the qualities of Kalhaṇa more fully as we pass from him to his continuator, Jonarāja. Jonarāja's account also is clear and authentic, but in it, one misses the mind of a great historian.

The rhetorician Ruyyaka seems to have been a contemporary of Kalhaṇa. He quotes from Mankha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* which is said to have been composed between 1135 and 1145. On the other hand the *Kāvyaprakāśasaṁketa* of Māṇikyacandra written between 1159-60 refers to Ruyyaka's *Alaṁkārasarvasva*. It is thus evident that Ruyyaka flourished between 1135 and 1160. His *Alaṁkārasarvasva*[98] is a standard work on figures of speech. His other works include *Sahṛdayalīlā*,[99] 'a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formula in four chapters', and *Alaṁkārānusāriṇī*,[100] a commentary on Jalhaṇa's *Somapālavilāsa*.

Among the minor works which were composed during the last days of the Hindu rule, mention may be made of *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* of Jayadratha.[101] It was probably written in the 12th or 13th century.[102] In a simple *kāvya* style, the book relates in 32 cantos many legends connected with Śiva and his incarnations. Some of these legends are placed in famous Kāśmīrian *tīrthas* and afford the author a chance to describe the sacred sites of Kāśmīra.

Another writer, Jayaratha composed a commentary on the *Tantrāloka*. He appears to have lived in the 12th century.[103]

If Jonarāja is to be believed, during the reign of Sāṁgrāmadeva (A.D. 1235-52), a poet named Śaka lived in his court and made the king the hero of his compositions.[104] Unfortunately nothing more is known of this poet and his writings.

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[1] Some Sanskrit Buddhist literary compositions were no doubt written in the Kuṣāṇa period, of which the Tibetan and Chinese writers tell us, but nearly all of them are now lost.

[2] *R.T.*, I, 337.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 16.

[4] *Subhāṣitāvalī* (ed. Peterson), 32, 66, 69, 1629, 1916, 2275.

[5] *R.T.*, III, 129 sqq.

[6] Bhau Daji, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (1861), pp. 208; Max Müller, *India*, pp. 312-347.

[7] Perhaps Bāṇā refers to it in his *Harṣacarita* when he says—
Kīrtiḥ Pravarasenasya prayātā kumudojjvalā ।
Sāgarasya paraṁ pāraṁ kapiseneva setunā ॥

[8] P. C. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, pp. 263-278.

[9] *Atraca Bharataḥ āśirvacanasaṁyuktā...........pyalaṁkṛtā* ।
Asya-vyākhyāne Mātṛguptācāryeḥ ṣoḍhaṣāṁdhripadānvita iyaṁ udāhṛtā ॥

[10] *Aucityavicāracarcā*, 22.

[11] *Subh.*, ed. Peterson, 2550, 3181.

[12] *R.T.*, III, 260-62.

[13] *Babhūva Valmīkabhavaḥ purā kaviḥ*
tataḥ prapede bhuvi Bhartṛemeṇṭhatāṁ ।
sthitaḥ punaryo Bhavabhutirekhayā
sa vartate saṁprati Rājaśekharaḥ ॥ Rājaśekhara
also Mankha, *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, ii, 53.

[14] *Cat. Catalog.*, I, p. 397.

[15] Max Müller, *India*, p. 314.

[16] *Kav.*, 16.

[17] *Subh.*, 2110, 3075.

[18] *R.T.*, I, 176.

[19] *Vākyapadīya*, ii, 489-90.

[20] Sumppo, *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, pt. i, pp. 95-96.

[21] For the different views on the date and identity of Candragomin see Leibich, *Das Datum Candragomin und Kalidasas* (Breslau, 1903); S. Levi, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi, iii (1903), pp. 38f.; N. Peri, *B.E.F.E.O.* (1911), p. 388, f. n. 2; Leibich, *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*, pp. 264 ff.

[22] *R.T.*, I, 14.

[23] Bühler, Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kāśmīra, Rajputana and Central India, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (Extra Number) 1877, p. 141.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *R.T.*, IV, 496.

[26] *R.T.*, IV, 497.

[27] *R.T.*, IV, 496.

[28] *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), 51, 58, 440.

[29] *R.T.*, IV, 705.

[30] *Subh.*, 526, 534, 750, 874, 908, 1156, 1234.

[31] Peterson, Intr. *Subh.*, p. 127.

[32] *Kāvyaprakāśa* (Bombay ed., 1899), p. 89

[33] *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), 585, 648, 654, 655, 661.

[34] S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, p. 49.

[35] Printed by K. P. Trivedi as appendix of *Pratāparudra Yaśobhūṣaṇa* B.S.S.

[36] *R.T.*, IV, 495.

[37] Abhinavagupta, *Locana*, p. 10; Ruyyaka, *Alaṁkārasarvasva*, p. 183.

[38] Ed. Banhatti, N.S.P., Bombay; tr. Jacobi, J.R.A.S. (1897).

[39] *R.T.*, IV, 495; on the identity of Vāmana, author of the *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra* with Vāmana the poet of Jayāpīḍa's court see Bühler's Rep., *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (Extra no.), 1877, p. 64.

[40] Ed. Capellar; ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay; ed. Kulakarṇi, Śrīnagar.

[41] *R.T.*, V, 34.

[42] *Rep. on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Bombay Presidency*, R. G. Bhandarkar (1897), p. xviii.

[43] *Cat. Catalog.*, I, pp. 654, 655.

[44] *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), p. 129.

[45] *Cat. Catalog.*, I, p. 459.

[46] For the identification of Ratnākara's Bāla Bṛhaṣpati with Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa, see Bühler's *Report*, p. 42-43.

[47] *R.T.*, IV, 703.

[48] This work has been printed in Kāvyamālā series, Bombay.

[49] *Suvṛttatilaka*, ii, 20; iii, 19.

[50] *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), pp. 96, 97.

[51] *Cat. Catalog*, I, p. 492.

[52] *Māśma santu hi catvāraḥ prāyo Ratnākarā ime* ।
Itiva prakṛto dhātrā kaviratnākaro'paraḥ ॥
This verse has been attributed to Rājaśekhara in the *Hārāvalī* and in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*. See Peterson, *Intr. to Subh.*, p. 97.

[53] The names of all these works are known from Anandavardhana's *Kāvyāloka*.

[54] Ed. Kāvyamālā,

[55] *Z.D.M.G.*, 56, 763.

[56] Bühler, *Report*, pp. 67-68.

[57] Ed. Bombay.

[58] Ed. Bombay.

[59] *R.T.*, V, 204.

[60] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

[61] *Nyāyamañjarī* (Cal. University).

[62] A manuscript copy of this book lies in one of the Jaina Bhāṇḍāras of Patan. See *Des. Cat. of Jaina Manuscripts of Patan*, G.O.S., vol. LXXVI, p. 51.

[63] *Dhvanyāloka* (Ed. N.S.P., Bombay, 1911), pp. 138, 148.

[64] *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (ed. Thomas), pp. 75, 76; *Subh.* (ed. Peterson), 1364.

[65] *Locana*, (Kāvyamālā ed.), p. 142. In this printed text, the *Kathāsāra* has been ascribed to Jayanta Bhaṭṭa but the India Office Manuscript No. 1008E1135 assigns it to Abhinanda, son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta.

[66] *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, 1090, 3485.

[67] Bühler identified the author of the *Rāmacarita* with the author of the *Kādambarī Kathāsāra*, *J.B.B. R.A.S.*, extra no. 1877, p. 45. But as the name of the father of the author of the *Rāmacarita* is Śatananda and not Jayanta, he should not be identified with the composer of the *Kathāsāra*.

[68] Kṣemendra, *Suvṛttatilaka*, iii, 6, 29; Someśvara, *Kīrtikaumudī*, i, 26.

[69] *R.T.*, V, 66.

[70] Bühler, *Report*, p. 78 sqq.

[71] Stein, *Cat. of Jammu Manuscripts*, p. 361.

[72] Bühler, *Report*, p. 82.

[73] For a complete list of Abhinavagupta's work see K. C. Pande, *Abhinavagupta: an historical and philosophical study.*

[74] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay; S. K. De, *Jl. of Dept. of Letters*, (Cal. University, 1923).

[75] Ed. T. S. S., 1909.

[76] *Anumāne'ntarbhavaṁ sarvasyaiva dhvaneḥ prakāśayitum* ।
Vyakti-vivekaṁ kurute praṇamya mahimā parāṁ vācam ॥
—*Vyaktiviveka*, verse i.

[77] T.S.S., 1909.

[78] Kāvyamālā, ed. Bombay.

[79] Kāvyamālā, ed. Bombay.

[80] Kāvyamālā, ed. Bombay.

[81] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

[82] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

[83] Ed. M. Kaul, Kashmir series of texts and studies.

[84] Ed. Kāvyamālā.

[85] Ed. Durgāprasād, Bombay, 1891.

[86] On the date of Mammaṭa see M.T.N. Ayyanger, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 65; Kane, *I.A.*, XLI, p. 204.

[87] Vāmanācārya, *Intr. of Kāvyaprakāśa*, Bombay ed. pp. 9-12.

[88] The opinion expressed by Rājānaka Ānanda receives support from Arjuna Varmā's (13th century, A.D.) commentary on the *Amaruśataka*. Referring to a verse from the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, he says—

Yathodahṛtam doṣanirṇaye Mammaṭallaṭabhyam. Allaṭa's writings begin from some part of the 7th chapter.

[89] Vidyabhusana, *Sāhitya Kaumudī* (ed. Kāvyamālā); Peterson, *Reports of the operations in search of Sanskrit mss. in the Bombay Circle*, II, 20.

[90] The manuscript of the book lies in the Dacca University Library.

[91] Ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, Bombay, 1869; Eng. tr. Tawney, ed. Penzer, 10 vols., London, 1924-1928.

[92] For detailed discussions on the point, see, Lacote, *Essai*, p. 207ff; Sten Konow, *I.A.*, XLIII, p. 66.

[93] Ed. Bombay, Kāvyamālā series.

[94] Ed. N. J. Kirtane, Bombay.

[95] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

[96] Ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

[97] *R.T.* (Eng. tr., Stein), Vol. I, Intr. pp. 22-41.

[98] Kāvyamālā, Bombay.

[99] Ed. Pischel, Kiel; also ed. Bombay.

[100] See Peterson, *Intr. Subh.*, p. 106.

[101] Kāvyamālā Series No. 61.

[102] Bühler, *Report*, p. 61, 81.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[104] Jonarāja (Bombay ed.), 107.

CHAPTER VIII

ARCHAEOLOGY

Prehistoric explorations have discovered the occurrence of the Quaternary Glacial Cycles in the valley of Kāśmīra. The chief geological formations of the Ice Age here are the lacustrine deposits called the karewas which overlay the terminal moraines of the first glaciation and are comprised of two groups, lower and upper, differentiated by the moraines of the second glaciation. The fossil remains of *Elephas hysudricus* obtained in the lower karewas point to Lower Pleistocene age. The intervening moraines are geologically similar to the boulder conglomerates of Potwar region (Dist. Rawalpindi, West Punjab) which contain Pre-Sohan tools. The upper karewa beds represent the second interglacial age and can be equated with similar deposits in the Sohan valley which present pebble tools and flake tools, the products of the Early Sohan industry. From Kāśmīra proper, however, no palaeolithic tool has as yet been found and human occupation in Pleistocene Kāśmīra has still to be proved.

The mesolithic or the proto-neolithic period appears to be indicated by a few flakes and cores that were found at Pampur and Sombur. In the latter potsherds also were noticed in association with the flake industry.

The neoliths of Kāśmīra come from Burzahom, the well-known menhir site. A trial trench dug at the site yielded polished celts of traps, hoes, pestles and bone implements along with rough handmade ware at a depth ranging from 5 feet to 11 feet 8 inches from the surface. At the bottom, a neolithic hearth too was noticed. But the digging was abandoned without reaching the natural karewa silt. Nor was any attempt made to discover at which particular period of existence of this site as an inhabited locality, the megaliths, that stand on the surface, were erected. Any commitment on the date of the neolithic industry thus would be hazardous and risky.[1]

A chalcolithic culture similar to that of post-Harappa Jhangar culture has been suggested on the basis of supposed associated pottery,[2] but a close examination of the pottery itself proves the assumption to be baseless.[3] Another claim is the discovery of a type of highly polished blackware,[4] the same as the Northern Black Polished Ware,[5] which is found practically all over India. The find of N.B.P. Ware would link Kāśmīra with the general culture trends of India of 4th to 1st centuries B. C. But the claim has yet to be proved on unimpeachable grounds.[6]

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* abounds in references to various types of edifices that were built during the several centuries preceding as well as following the birth of Christ.[7] Hiuen Tsang also mentions that he noticed several *stūpas* built by Aśoka and Kaniṣka.[8] But unfortunately hardly any of these has survived. The earliest historical remains are the art ruins of Harwan and Uṣkur, which are almost certainly later than the 3rd century A.D.

The village of Harwan (ancient Ṣaḍarhadvana) situated not far away from the present capital of Śrīnagar can boast of yielding the earliest historic archaeological remains. These consist of a *stūpa*, a temple and a number of brick tiles of an unique art-character. The *stūpa*, probably the earliest of its type in the valley, stands on an open quadrangle. It is square in plan with its base in three tiers and approached by a flight of steps on its western side. The upper part has disappeared but can be reconstructed from a few clay votive tablets bearing in relief miniature *stūpas*, which have been found scattered among the ruins of the environment. Like the existing *stūpa* of Harwan, the *stūpa* depicted on the tablets has a triple base, all the three flights of steps leading up being in line with one another. A cylindrical dome with a bulging hemispherical top towers up from the upper basement which is surmounted by a number of parasols (*chatrāvalī*) in a tapering row of flat discs and diminishing in size, until the topmost one ends in a pointed finial. The *chatras* seem to have been supported by a forest of poles radiating onwards. Several waving streamers are attached to the finial. The Buddhist creed *Ye dharma hetuprabhavā* etc. is written on the plaque in *Brāhmī* characters of about the 4th century A.D. which helps to fix the approximate date of the style of the *stūpa*.

The temple, almost in ruins, is a large apsidal structure, square in front and round at the back. The building accommodation consists of a spacious rectangular antechamber with a circular sanctum behind. At Harwan, where large quantities of small pebbles were available, buildings were constructed at first with pebbles and mud-mortar. The pebble style probably could not be a durable structure. Some improvement was made on it when the wall was reinforced with the insertion of irregular blocks of stone at intervals. This type of structure may be called the 'diaper-pebble' style. The latter style was replaced by what may be called the 'diaper-rubble' style, in which the walls were composed of large untrimmed stones with the spaces intervening filled with smaller stones. All these different styles in the architecture are presumed to have developed between *c*. 200 and 500 A.D.[9]

The moulded brick tiles of Harwan, of various shapes and patterns, yield a form of art unique in itself. The style is free from the influence of any other known art school. The sculptors do not deal with gods and goddesses, Buddha or Bodhisattva as most of the members of that class in other parts of the land do. What they deal with is the life of man and the nature around. The pictures, apparently taken from realities of daily life, represent the entire flora and fauna of the locality. The motifs consist of leaves of aquatic plants which grow in abundance in the lakes of Kāśmīra, leaves of lotus flowers and other flowers of the locality in full-bloom forms; geese flying or running in rows holding stalks of half-blown lotuses in their bills; cocks fighting, rams fighting, cows suckling the calves; elephants; deers looking at the moon with head turned backwards; archers on horseback chasing deer and shooting arrows at them; one lady carrying a flower vase, another beating a drum (Pl. I, a); a dancing girl; boys carrying a floral festoon on their shoulders; men and women conversing seated in a balcony (Pl. I, b); naked mendicants seated in *kākāsana*; various designs consisting of frets, wavy lines, fish-bone patterns, conventional flowers and leaves—in fact all conceivable subject-matter of human life and nature around. To the potters of Harwan no topic was considered to be too unworthy of attention and they depicted them with a picturesque expression, delineating at the same time all the natural characteristic features of the theme.

The sculpture of Harwan can not be said to be the work of the common people or folk-artist. It attains a certain degree of sophistication and derives its inspiration chiefly from the life of the upper class people. The aristocratic gentlemen, who, clad in full armour hunted the deers with bows and arrows, enjoyed the dances and music of girls, employed soldiers to guard the door and spent leisure-hours in balcony chatting with their beloved ones, as testified by the sculptured tiles themselves, were most probably the patrons of the Harwan artists.

With the purpose of placing the tiles in a serial position, the potter of Harwan inscribed on them consecutive numbers in numerals written in *Kharoṣṭhi* script. The *Kharoṣṭhi* script ceased to be in vogue in north-west India about the fifth century A.D. The date of the tiles, thus, can be fixed anterior to that date, probably a century earlier, when the script was at the highest pitch of popularity. The Buddhist creed written on a terracotta plaque in *Brāhmī* characters of the 4th century A.D. has been already noted. These letters can not be much removed in date from the tiles of the pavement and façade. The Harwan art, therefore, may be fixed approximately round about 300 A.D.

A close observation of the physiognomical features of the human figures stamped on the tiles will at once reveal that they are wholly unlike any people who at present inhabit Kāśmīra or any other part of India. On the other hand, the prominent cheek bones, small eyes, receding forehead and heavy features show some resemblance with the people of the regions round about Yarkand and Kashgar. The Turkoman caps and trousers of some of the figures are also reminiscent of the Central Asian tradition. It is not possible to place definitely these people represented in the tiles of Harwan. But it seems probable that they were people who came from Central Asia and afterwards settled in Kāśmīra. Possibly they were un-Indianised Kuṣāṇas or members of similar tribal stock.

The artistic and archaeological remains at Uṣkur do not stand aside like those of Harwan from the principal artistic trends of India; they find culmination for the Gandhāra tradition which was so popular in the north-west in the early centuries of the Christian era. Some of the archaeological remains of Uṣkur are undoubtedly of a later date, the early mediaeval, but a ruined *stūpa* which was afterwards superimposed by another of the Karkoṭa period[10] and a large number of terracotta sculptures (Pl. II, a, b and c) may be very well assigned to an earlier period, that is, the late Kuṣāṇa. It is no longer possible to have an idea of the elevation of the *stūpa*. In ground plan, it has a square base and seems to have closely corresponded the contemporary *stūpas* of Gandhāra. The sculptures in their artistic style are much alike to the Jaulian sculptures of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and may be of the same chronological horizon. They are evidently the products of the second Gandhāra school, which had abandoned the use of hard stone of the First and had adopted stucco in the north-west and terracotta in the more south-easterly provinces as materials for their artistic creations and had developed a style of art, that while it absorbed some of the formalities of the early school, yet had definitely developed a sensitive and romantic style of its own.

The sculptors of Uṣkur generally employed their skill in depicting the heads of Buddha and Bodhisattvas.[11] Sometimes the ascetic or perhaps the lay worshipper could attract them but were not they too the devotees of Buddha? In fact, the Uṣkur art was a religious one centred round the cult of the Śākya prince. What strikes one most in these terracotta busts is the variety of their wonderful facial expression. Buddha, sometimes in his contemplative look or with eyes closed altogether, appears to be abstracted from the outer world. Bodhisattva Siddhārtha Gautama with a delicate face and a crown over his head is as charming as ever. The emaciated ascetic shows prominent veins coming out on the face. And the lay worshippers sometimes meditative, sometimes with a rude look on the eyes or at times with a rather vacant look, add to the varieties. In spite of the variety of expression, the Uṣkur art is stereotyped and delicacy rather than vigour is its ringnote. But that is probably inevitable in a monastic art.

Nearly two centuries elapsed until the advent of the Karkoṭas opened up a new era in the archaeological history of Kāśmīra. The intervening period was an age of experiment, both in sculpture and architecture. In architecture the inspiration was chiefly drawn from Gandhāra whereas sculptural experiments were fostered by the examples of the Indian plains. This dual influence can be explained by the fact that whereas Gandhāra was raising numberless imposing structures of various styles, it had hardly anything to contribute in the region of plastic arts, the force of second Gandhāra school having already spent itself in the plains of Uṣkur. On the other hand, the Indian plains extending from Mathura to Sarnath were bustling with sculptural activity at first under the patronage of the Kuṣāṇas and later on under the Imperial Guptas. But their architecture, it must be pointed out at the same time, hardly had anything to show that was really novel and was certainly not grand enough to supersede the semi-classical Gandhāra style.

Of the temples of early Kāśmīra there are at least three which may be approximately assigned to this period. They are the temples of Loduv, Śaṁkarācārya and Narastān. From the stylistic consideration of their sculptured panels, the ruined *stūpas* of Pāndreṭhan too may be ascribed to the end of this period.

The temple of Rudreśa at Loduv closely copies the early religious structures of Gandhāra in plan as well as in other broad details. It shows particularly a close resemblance to the *vihāra* of Guniyar in Swat valley. The only difference is that whereas in the *vihāra* the barrenness of the cella is relieved internally by four recesses placed diagonally, at the temple the row of projecting brackets which support the eaves of the roof are replaced by a simple cornice consisting of three courses of projecting filleted blocks. The simplicity of the construction and absence of decorative details point towards an early date. The use of immensely large-sized stones which go to the construction of the Mārtaṇḍa or the Avantisvāmī was unknown to the masons of Loduv. The temple of Rudreśa thus can be approximately placed between the Guniyar (5th century) and the Mārtaṇḍa (8th century), probably nearer to the former whose architectural style it copies. Besides this temple of Rudreśa, there is another temple of a smaller size in the same site. The temple may be slightly later in date as is suggested by the addition of some architectural features of later development. About the date of the Śaṁkarācārya temple on the Takht-i-Sulaiman hill (Pl. III) clusters much controversy. While Cunningham assigns to it such an ancient period as the 3rd century B.C. on the basis of local tradition,[12] the other extreme view that it belongs to the age of Jahangir is held by Fergusson.[13] In the absence of any authentic evidence, Cunningham's view can hardly be taken into consideration. He attributes it to Aśoka's son Jalauka, an attribution unsupported by the architectural style of the temple which is definitely post-Mauryan. The presence of two Persian inscriptions on one of the columns of the inner sanctum, one of which pertains to 1644 A.D., a year in Shahjahan's reign has mainly been responsible for Fergusson's view. Further, he is supported in his theory regarding the architectural features of the temple, by the presence of the horizontal round-headed arch at the bottom of the steps, which, he asserts, must have been copied from the Muslim models. But Catrou in his *General History of the Mughal Empire*, published one year after Aurangzeb's death, ascribes the temple to Solomon.[14] This tends to show that it had already by that time assumed a legendary character. If this is so, it can scarcely be taken to have been constructed during Jahangir's suzerainty. As for the architectural style it may be pointed out that the true round-headed arch is present in the temple of Loduv which, from its architectural features, can not be placed much later than the 5th century A.D. A comparison of this temple with that of Loduv shows that the two closely resemble each other in outer features, in disposition of parts as well as in ornamentation except for the fact that the Śaṁkarācārya has two offsets on each side. The offset of the Śaṁkarācārya temple is an improvement on the temple of Loduv, whose exterior is singularly plain and is, therefore, indicative of a slightly later date. Kalhaṇa mentions a king named Gopāditya who built a shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara on the Gopādri hill.[15] It is not much unlikely that the present temple is but the same shrine. In course of time, portions of the inner sanctuary might have broken down, to be in all probability, retouched in the reign of Shahjahan, whose inscription the cella contains.

The date of the temple of Narastān is uncertain. Stylistically it belongs to a period earlier than that of the Mārtaṇḍa but later than that of the temple crowning the Takht-i-Sulaiman. The pediment and arch-motif of Narastān appear in a more developed form than that of the Śaṁkarācārya, whereas the introduction of an enclosure-wall forming courtyard and a prominent gateway are new features added to the old which reach logical culmination in the magnificent Sun temple of Lalitāditya by the further addition of cellular quadrangle and other details.

So far as *stūpas* of Pāndreṭhan are concerned, one of them is in such a ruined state that only the stairs on the northern and western sides are visible. Another, though dilapidated, has kept a few stones in position, from which the general plan of the building can be restored. The whole structure seems to have been built upon a square basement with recesses in each of the four corners. The drum, though not found in position, was to all appearances elaborately ornamented with sculptural reliefs, some of which have still survived. The *stūpa* was surrounded by another wall, the lowest corners of which still stand.

The specimens of plastic art may be divided into two groups, earlier and later. The earlier ones show definite influence of the Kuṣāṇa school of Mathurā as seen from the broad and heavy features, elaborate ornamentation and general fattishness. The male figures with their robust and muscular bodies and the females with their hefty hips and bewitching breasts wear a definitely sexy look, so characteristic of the Kuṣāṇa art of Mathura. Specimens come chiefly from Vijabror and a few of unknown provenance are also housed in the Pratap Singh Museum. Particularly notable are a female figure (Lakṣmī?) in Graeco-Roman attire[16] who in her heavy features, elaborate ornaments, well-developed bulging breasts and sensuous appearance is so similar to the Kuṣāṇa female figures represented in the railings of Mathura; a Viṣṇu image[17] in which the broad and straight shoulders and a long tunic from the neck to the knees remind one of the later phase of the art of Mathura as seen in the portrait statues of the Śaka Kuṣāṇa kings; and a sculptural representation of Kārttikeya,[18] the generalissimo of the gods whose muscular features, folded drapery and long tunic hanging from neck to the knees would ally it with the previous image. The streamers attached to the back of Kārttikeya's head and streaming sideways indicate Sassanian influence and tends to make the image a contemporary of the Sassanian regime of north-west India.

The later products undoubtedly received their inspiration from the Gupta art of the Madhyadeśa which shed radiance all over India. Of this kind of art, Pāndreṭhan was the main centre. The art objects so far recovered are mainly Buddhistic. Among the remarkable ones, mention may be made of several images of Buddha. One standing in *abhayamudrā*, with broad and well developed chest, thin waist and a spiritual and compassionate expression in the face appears to be a prototype of the Sarnath Buddha.[19] Another shows drapery very similar to that of the Mathura Buddha of the Gupta period and halo ornamented with beads.[20] An Avalokiteśvara image, heavily ornamented[21], may easily be grouped under the same art idiom. But the finest specimen is a relief sculpture which depicts the birth of Siddhārtha (Pl. IV, a). Māyā, Buddha's mother, apprehending the coming of her child started for her father's home. On the way, she felt the pains of travail and gave birth to the prince. In the sculpture, the queen mother is seen in the middle, holding the branch of the Aśoka tree in her right hand while the left rests on her sister Prajāpati who appears on the right of the picture. On the extreme left is a figure, who probably represents the god Indra, who, according to tradition came to offer adoration after the birth of Buddha. A female figure on the top of the relief holds a chowrie. The plastic representation of the whole scene is extremely charming. The well-developed bodies, graceful poise, delicate features of the face and such technical details as long thin elastic fingures with tips backwards, reveal fully the great influence that the Gupta art-phase exerted at the time on the local art of Kāśmīra.

The date of the earlier as well as of the later phase of this art does not, however, appear to coincide with the dates of the contemporary art schools of Mathura and Sarnath. Both the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta art tradition must have taken a pretty long time, possibly centuries, to enter the secluded valley and find a habitation there. The capital of Kāśmīra was removed from Pāndreṭhan or old Śrīnagara to the new Śrīnagara by Pravarasena II who is presumed to have ruled about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The sculptures of Pāndreṭhan are generally assigned approximately to the same period when the city was finally abandoned in favour of the new capital.

The advent of the Karkoṭas gave a strong impulse to the art and architecture of Kāśmīra. Huge monumental structures, *stūpas*, *caityas* and temples were reared up all over the valley. Most of these are in complete ruins, but the surviving few like the magnificent ashlar dressed limestone *stūpa*, *vihāra* and *catiya* of Parihāsapura, *stūpa* of Huviṣkapura, the marvellous Mārtaṇḍa and the temple groups of Wagnath stand as the sole representative of an age of great artistic activity.

The *stūpa* of Parihāsapura consists of a double platform, one above the other for the *pradakṣiṇa* of the shrine. The basement is square in plan with a projection on each face; stairways are placed in the middle of projections. The upper structure of the *stūpa* has completely collapsed, the ruins of which cover the top of the base. A large massive block of stone with a deep hole in the middle has been recovered among the ruins. It is suggested that this stone belonged to the finial of the *stūpa* and that the hole is the mortice in which was embedded the lower end of the staff of the stone umbrellas crowning the drum.[22] Blocks of round torus stones with slanting bands and fillets have been found scattered in the site. As these stones were not used in the base, it is likely that they were placed on the string course of the drum. The drum of the *stūpa* seems to have been ornamented with niches containing the figure of Buddha and Bodhisattvas lying on the spot. The whole structure was surrounded by an enclosure wall. The only *stūpa* whose erection at Parihāsapura has been recorded by Kalhaṇa was that founded by Caṅkuṇa, the Tukhāra minister of Lalitāditya.[23] The identity of this *stūpa*, the only building of this kind to be found at Parihāsapura, with the lofty structure of Caṅkuṇa is likely.

The *vihāra* of Parihāsapura is a quadrangle of twenty-six cells surrounding an open courtyard. The cells are preceded by a verandah supported on pillars. The structure has an opening in the east with flights of steps. Kalhaṇa says that Lalitāditya built a large monastery in the town of Parihāsapura, called Rājavihāra.[24] A second *vihāra* is said to have been founded in the same place by his minister Caṅkuṇa.[25] It is difficult to say which of them is represented by the existing monastery.

The *caitya* of Parihāsapura is a square chamber surrounded by a circumambulatory passage and supported on a set of four columns. A flight of steps on the east leads to the entrance. The inner chamber contains a single block of stone on which the object of worship probably rested. The whole courtyard is surrounded by a wall. The roof was most probably like the Brahminical temples, pyramidal in shape.

Kalhaṇa mentions in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that Lalitāditya built at Huviṣkapura a large *vihāra* with a *stūpa*.[26] The remains of the basement of a ruined *stūpa* found at Uṣkur may represent the same. In its ground plan, the *stūpa* surrounded by a wall closely corresponds to that of Parihāsapura.

The noblest architectural survival of the Karkoṭa period is the temple of Mārtaṇḍa (Pl. V) which has been very aptly described by a critic as the veritable lion of Kāśmīrian architecture. Situated on the tableland of Maṭan, overlooking the green plains below, intersected by rivers and lakes and villages in the environments and surrounded by snow-capped mountains, the temple commands a grand view. The simple dignity and massiveness of the architectural style also stand in close conformity with the grandeur of its natural position.

The design of the Mārtaṇḍa consists of a central structure composed of the *garbhagṛha*, *the antarāla*, and the *ardha maṇḍapa* with a small chapel on either side of the half temple, standing within a rectangular courtyard surrounded by a cellular quadrangle with an imposing gateway for the entrance. The whole structure stands upon a raised plinth.

The roof of the temple has completely disappeared. Though many surmises have been put forward regarding its form and material, the view originally held by Cunningham that it was of usual pyramidal type and constructed of stone seems plausible enough.[27]

According to Cunningham, the central shrine with its adjuncts was built by Ārya Rājā and Raṇāditya between A.D. 370 and 500 while the peristyle was the construction of Lalitāditya.[28] But the passage in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* concerning the building of the Mārtaṇḍa temple shows that the whole edifice was erected during Lalitāditya's reign.[29]

To the north-west of Śrīnagara, near the village of Wagnath, stand three groups of buildings. The southern group, surrounded by an enclosure wall consists of as many as seven temples. The principal temple, square in plan with entrances on the east north-west and west south-west and with closed niches on the other two sides is generally taken to be the Jyeṣṭheśa temple said to have been built by Lalitāditya in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. In the northern group, there are six temples of which the principal one closely tallies with the largest temple of the southern group both in style and dimensions. Probably this was the Bhūteśa temple built by Lalitāditya.[30] The third group in the midway is in an extremely dilapidated state and can not be placed to any definite chronological setting.

The sculptures of the Karkoṭa period have come from the Buddhist establishments of Parihāsapura and the Sun temple of Maṭan. At Parihāsapura, the motifs generally are Buddha and Bodhisattva. Like the fragments of Pāndreṭhan the Buddhist sculptures of Parihāsapura reveal in them the influence of the Gupta art school, but lack the vigour of the preceding age and a general effeminacy in style pervades them all. The tender modelling as well as the facial and physiognomical type closely resemble the last phase of the Gupta art as exemplified in the late Gupta and mediaeval sculptures of Sarnath. There are some peculiarities in the iconographic details. A figure, in which the head is crowned with a coronet of three jewelled crescent, wears the monastic robes of Buddha and not the princely attire of Bodhisattva.[31] Another Bodhisattva image has a logenge-like mark on the chest, so similar to the *Śrīvatsalāñchana* of Viṣṇu.[32] In fact some of the iconographic conceptions of the Hindus were borrowed by the Buddhist artists in later days and the mark on the chest of this Bodhisattva figure may be an example to the point.

The Karkoṭa art is more vigorous and vital at the Mārtaṇḍa. Here most of the sculptures are gone, but a few that remain, while showing a general affinity with the Gupta art-idiom, maintains its own individuality. The icons are Brahminical, particularly notable of which is a *caturātman* Viṣṇu, but for the relief appearing as three-faced, with the human face in the centre and those of lion and the boar on two sides.[33] Here, in the Mārtaṇḍa temple, is the genesis of that art school which, as will be seen, assumes a truly national character in the succeeding age of the Utpalas.

The architectural and art trends of the Karkoṭa period reach a logical culmination in the next generation under the Utpalas. The temple of Avantisvāmī, built in Avantivarman's reign (855/56-883 A.D.) with its courtyard, peristyle and basement of the central shrine appears to have been a very complete conception (Pl. VI). But for the fact that it is a temple of the *pañcāyatana* type, with an independent replica structure of the central shrine in each of the four angles of the courtyard, it copies closely the plan of Mārtaṇḍa having a rectangular courtyard, penetrated by a gateway which is a replica of the central shrine standing at the middle of the courtyard, the quadrangle being surrounded by a cellular colonnaded peristyle. There is also hardly anything new in the architectural style. But compared with the temple of Mārtaṇḍa, the Avantisvāmī temple is a more refined product of art.

Of the other buildings of the Utpala period, the temple of Avantīśvara, also built by Avantivarman, is sadly mutiliated. But the extensive courtyard indicates that it must have been one of the best achievements of the Kāśmīra architecture. The temple of Buniār composed of a lofty central edifice, standing within a large quadrangle, surrounded by a colonnade of fluted pillars with intervening trefoiled-headed recesses, is so similar to the temple of Avantisvāmī that it can very well be placed in this period. The Dhathamandir on the Jhelum road is of the same style as Buniār minus the latter's columns in the peristyle and may be assigned to the same age. The temples of Patan, the Sugandheśa and the Śaṁkaragaurīśvara, were built during Śaṁkaravarman's reign and closely resemble the Avantisvāmī. Though in ruins, the second one appears to have been particularly imposing. But kings, with resources wasted in the battlefield, have already started robbing the materials of the earlier temples, to decorate their newly built ones.[34] The sign of decadence has already set in.

The temple architecture of Kāśmīra has got certain peculiar characteristics of its own. The principal features consist in the classical design of the temple, the presence of trefoil arch within high pitched triangular pediment, the use of pyramidal roof and domeshaped ceiling and the employment of fluted pillars with capital resembling the Doric order.

The temple of ancient Kāśmīra was conceived as a whole leaving no opportunity for further addition. In this respect it is different from the temples of the plains of India. The cellular quadrangle, with the central structure in the middle of the courtyard, was undoubtedly copied from the monastery of the Buddhists. The trefoiled arch, which is invariably present in the recess or niche of a Kāśmīra temple, seems to be copied from the *stūpas* and monasteries of Gandhāra. The pediment too has its prototype in some of the oldest structures of the same land. The straight-sided pyramidal roof of the Kāśmīrian temples fundamentally differs from the roofs of the temples of India proper, which were either of the curved pyre or of the stepped roof type. The pyramidal shape was necessitated by the climate of the valley, where snowfall is a common feature. Two types of ceiling are mainly discernible in the temples. One of these was formed of overlapping stones, a system followed in the plains of India also. But the other type, the domeshaped, was peculiar to Kāśmīra. These domes were hemispherical in shape. They were constructed of concentric horizontal courses, each circle projecting beyond the one below it. The opening of the top was closed with a single slab in which a lotus was sometimes engraved. The cella being square, the plan was first reduced to the circle by filling in the corners with light pendentives. As to the pillars used in the temples, all authorities agree that they were of the Doric order. There is, however, some difference which may be observed in the style. Though the upper member of both is an ovolo, the Kāśmīrian column is decorated with the design of a series of full blown lotus petals. The abacus of the Kāśmīrian pillar is also different inasmuch as it possesses ranges of mouldings over it. The Doric columns have twently flutes, but the number of flutes in the columns of Kāśmīra varies from twelve to twenty-four. Some of the classical features in the architecture of Kāśmīra are undoubtedly to be sought in Gandhāra, to the artistic conventions of which ancient Kāśmīra owed a great debt. But whereas in Gandhāra architecture the capital is invariably Corinthian, in Kāśmīra, it is quasi-Doric. This may indicate that the sources of Kāśmīrian style did not come wholly from Gandhāra.

Turning to the plastic art of the Utpala period, as perceived through the medium of different Brahminical icons, we cannot but note that it has assumed a distinctive national character. Connected with the art traditions of the later Gupta or transitional period only in a very general sense, it is no longer subdued by any foreign art school. The four-headed Viṣṇu, heavily ornamented and clad in *dhoti* with a dagger attached to the jewelled girdle at the waist, is the most popular figure of the period.[35] The powerfully massive form of his physique is shaped with vigour and discipline; every lineament is indicative of a masterful force. The facial expression is in sharp contrast with the earlier passionless calm features of Buddha and Bodhisattvas of Pāndreṭhan and Parihāsapura. The wide awake and piercing eyes, closely pressed lips and acquiline nose present a face that inidicates an overwhelmingly powerful will dominating all the faculties of the mind. And is not the dagger, attached to the waist, an external symbol of the unbending disposition of the god?

Other sculptures too, Kāmdeva seated between his consorts Rati and Prīti (Pl. IV, b), Kṛṣṇa amidst the scenes of his life, Gangā, Yamunā, Śiva trimūrti, Ardhanārīśvara, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, goddess Śrī,[36] icons all so much varied, reveal the same innate vigour and force, though quite graceful in their external manifestation.

Scantiness of material does not permit us to trace in detail the causes leading to the change in the attitude of art-expression. It may, however, be noted that the Karkoṭa Kāśmīra, though it renders a very good show outwardly by making conquests outside its natural boundaries, rearing up great buildings and performing other similar activities, was in reality a subordinate ally of China (see *supra*, pp. 44-46). It was the Chinese money which made the rise of the Karkoṭa Kāśmira possible. Naturally Kāśmīra identified her own interests with those of her formidable ally. In the field of architecture she produced something really grand which only a superfluous wealth can make possible; but was their anything distinctive original behind it? Her interest in the plastic rendering of Buddha was more due to her association with a Buddhist power than out of any genuine urge of the nation. Were not the Buddhist sculptures of Parihāsapura weak replicas of their foreign prototypes? It was only when China disconnected herself from the valley and when the Utpalas after an anarchy spreading over nearly a century came to power, that a national Kāśmīra came into being. It was the new spirit of the resurgent nation, a new national consciousness, that finds expression in the contemporary art.

In the history of Kāśmīra's archaeology, a decadence definitely sets in with the end of the Utpalas. No imposing monument like that of the previous period is reared up. The temples of this period, Bumāzuv, Pāndreṭhan, Payar, Koṭher and Mamal are quite humble and there is hardly anything notable in their architecture. In plastic art, the period witnessed the moulding of some fine bronze images.[37] But they are mostly influenced by the sculptures of the contemporary Pāla art. The virility and masterfulness which are the distinguishing characteristics of the art of Avantivarman's time are missing in the later specimens. The ordeal of internecine wars through which the valley was passing at this time may very well explain this deficiency.

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[1] It is to be regretted that the stone-age materials from Kāśmīra, which were all obtained by De Terra and his party in their expedition to the valley in 1935, have never been published. Moreover, they are distributed in museums spread over several continents which makes a first hand study of the materials impossible. Under the circumstances, the writer could only note the general observations made by the party in their official report, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures* (Washington, 1939). An account of the menhir site trial excavation is furnished in the paper, De Terra, 'Excavations at Burjhama', *Miscellenea of the American Philosophical Society* (1936).

[2] De Terra, *Studies on the Ice Age*, pp. 233-34.

[3] D. H. Gordon, The Stone Industries of the Holocene in India and Pakistan, *Ancient India* (No. 6), p. 80.

[4] De Terra, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[5] Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 39.

[6] Is the polished blackware found by De Terra in the mid layers of his trial trench at Burzahom the same as the Northern Black Polished Ware? In the absence of published materials a verdict could not be passed. It is interesting to note that scholars who refer to these pottery of Kāśmīra naively suggest them as N.B.P. Ware but avoid making any definite commitment. "The polished ware sounds as though it might be Wheeler's 'Northern Black Polished Ware', known for instance from Taxila, dated between the fifth and second centuries B.C." Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 39. "At some point in this 3 to 5 feet layer highly polished black pottery, *almost certainly* 'northern black polished ware' appeared, which can be dated fourth to second century B.C." Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 80. N.B.P. Ware can be easily distinguished from any other type of pottery by its peculiar polish, fabric and type. It is surprising that Gordon, even after he had examined the collection of De Terra is still indefinite on the point. A portion of De Terra's collection from Burzahom is now lying in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi. I had the opportunity to examine it and noticed among the pottery a type of polished black sherd. But that is quite unlike the N.B.P. Ware.

[7] *R.T.*, I, 86, 93-94, 98, 102-106, 124, 147-48, 170, 306, 341; III, 336-364, 460-465.

[8] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 261, 271.

[9] Kak, *Ancient Monuments*, pp. 50-51.

[10] Kak, *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[11] The artists of Uṣkur did not employ all their energy in depicting heads alone, a large number of fragmentary terracottas showing pieces of bodies, sometimes limbs decorated with ornaments and architectural fragments of ornamental style have been recovered from the ruins of Uṣkur. They well bespeak the skill of their authors. Some of these fragments have been reproduced in Kak's *Handbook*.

[12] *J.A.S.B.* (1848), ii, p. 247.

[13] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, pp. 254-55.

[14] Catrou, *General History of the Mughal Empire*, p. 54.

[15] *R.T.*, I, 341.

[16] Kak, *Handbook*, fig. Ab. 1.

[17] Kak, *ibid.*, fig. Ab. 4.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 33, fig. Aa 16.

[21] Kak, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. XLV.

[22] Kak, *Ancient Monuments*, p. 147.

[23] *R.T.*, IV, 211.

[24] *R.T.*, IV, 200.

[25] *R.T.*, IV, 211.

[26] *R.T.*, IV, 188.

[27] *J.A.S.B.* (1848), ii, p. 267.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 259-263.

[29] *R.T.*, IV, 192.

[30] *R.T.* (Eng. tr.), Stein, Vol. I, p. 194.

[31] Kak, *Handbook*, p. 43.

[32] *Ibid*, p. 44.

[33] For the full significance and iconographic import of the *caturātman* Viṣṇu, see J. N. Banerjea, 'Mediaeval Viṣṇu images from Kashmir and some Viṣṇudharmottara passages', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, IV (1940), pp. 61-64; S. C. Roy, 'A note on an unpublished Viṣṇu image from Kāśmīra', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII (1951), pp. 251-53. For a typical *caturātman* Viṣṇu image of this period, see Pl. VII. The sculpture probably comes from Harwan.

[34] *R.T.*, V, 161.

[35] Kak, *Handbook*, p. 50.

[36] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, II, 1913-14, pls. XXVII, XXVIII; Kak, *Handbook*, p. 50ff.

[37] Kak, *Handbook*, p. 10; also *ibid.*, p. 73.

CHAPTER IX

LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

Food and drink, dress and ornaments, games and pastimes, luxury and amusements and many other objects of our day-to-day life, are, in a way, expressions of our mental culture, though we may not be conscious of the fact. The ideas and ideals, thoughts and conceptions, meditations and reflections of any people of a particular territory and period, are not confined only within their religion and fine arts, literature and sciences, but are expressed in every sphere of life, and in all its activities. Hence the cultural survey of a nation cannot be complete on a consideration of its religion, literature and art alone; the practical side of the daily life, which is no less an expression of the nation's intellectual refinedness, must also be taken into consideration.

We have not enough materials in our possession, with the help of which, a detailed and connected account of the life of people in early Kāśmīra may be sketched. But many isolated events, bearing on the everyday life, are scattered in the literature of the valley, particularly in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (*c.* 7th century A.D.), Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (9th century A.D.), Kṣemendra's *Deśopadeśa*, *Narmamālā* and *Samayamātṛkā* (11th century A.D.), Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (11th century A.D.) and Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (12th century A.D.). Some sidelight is also thrown by foreign travellers like Hiuen Tsang (7th century A.D.), Alberuni (11th century A.D.) and Marco Polo (13th century A.D.). A somewhat connected account regarding the day to day life of early Kāśmīra may be formed by weaving these scattered threads into a single texture.

FOOD AND DRINK

Rice was the staple food of ancient Kāśmīra. *Dhānya* (rice-crop) and a particular class of it called *śāli* have often been mentioned in the early literature of the valley.[1] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* points out that the scarcity of rice invariably resulted in disastrous famine. This clearly proves that rice was the principal food of the people. Of various preparations made from rice, boiled-rice, rice mixed with sugar and sugar-cane, cakes of rice and meal of dried rice have often been referred to in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.

Besides rice, barley (*yava*) seems to have formed another important item of food. A particular day of the year was observed as a festival, when the barley became ripe in the field.[2] *Apūpa* and *piṣṭaka* (bread and cake) were made from barley.[3]

Pulses too were in use. Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* speaks of three kinds of pulses, *kulattha*, *caṇa* and *masura*.[4] Kṣemendra mentions a fourth variety, called *mudga*.[5] Rice and pulses, cooked jointly was known as *khiccari*. This was taken, especially on religious occasions.[6] Another kind of food prepared from pulses was the *parpaṭa* or *pāpara*.[7]

The nature of vegetable food-stuffs and fruits can be ascertained to some extent from literary evidence. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions a kind of wild-growing herb of bitter taste called *utpalaśāka* which was generally taken by the common people.[8] The herb, now known as *upathak*, grows abundantly on the mountain slopes of Kāśmīra and forms one of the commonest vegetables of the Kāśmīra cuisine. By nature, Kāśmīra is abundantly rich in fruit. Hiuen Tsang's account seems to show that the pear, the wild plum, the peach, the apricot and the grape were the principal fruit products of the valley in the 7th century A.D.[9] The grape was particularly considered as the fruit par excellence of Kāśmīra.[10] Onion was regarded as a nutritious vegetable food.[11]

Milk undoubtedly comprised one of the principal diets. Milk of cows and probably also of buffaloes was consumed.[12] Various preparations of milk such as ghee (*ghṛta*), butter (*sarpi*), condensed milk (*ksīra*) and curd (*dadhi*) were known.[13] Honey (*mākṣika*) and sugar (*śarkarā*) were used to sweeten food.[14]

Salt was a precious article and if Kṣemendra is to be believed, it was consumed by the rich alone.[15] Among the spices which were used with food, mention may be made of black-pepper, ginger (*maricādraka*) and assafoetida (*hiṅga*).[16] The chewing of betel-leaves (*parṇa* or *tāmbula*) was in vogue, especially as a luxury of the aristocrat.[17]

Meat was one of the most important articles of diet. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* prescribes it on some of the festival days. The fowl and the ram (*kukkuṭa* and *meṣa*) and perhaps also the goat served the dishes.[18] Various edible birds too were massacred.[19] In the 11th century A.D., eating of domesticated pigs (*grāmyaśūkara*) might have been a fashion among a section of the people.[20] Marco Polo (13th century A.D.) furnishes us with the information that the food of the people of

Kāśmīra was flesh, with rice and other grains.[21] Meat was generally fried and sometimes highly spiced.[22]

Fish was also taken[23] and fish-juice (*matsyāyūsa* or *matsyāsūpa*) was considered to be a particularly strength-giving tonic-food.[24]

Drinking of wine seems to have been quite popular in early Kāśmīra. In Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of the kings of Kāśmīra, we meet with a large number of personages who are addicted to drinking. The drinking of wine, far from being forbidden, has been specially recommended on ceremonial occasions in the Kāśmīrī *Purāṇa*.[25] Juices from grape and sugar-cane, both of which grew in the valley, were distilled into spirituous liquors. The wine, cooled and perfumed with flowers, was appreciated as a delicious drink.[26] Of drinks other than alcoholic, Kalhaṇa mentions a kind of cold sweet drink (*tuhina śarkaraṁ*) which was taken with great delight in hot summer days.[27]

Dress and ornaments

As regards the dress and ornaments of early inhabitants of Kāśmīra, we have literary as well as archaeological evidence. The costume of the male population consisted of a lower garment (*adharāṁśuka*), an upper garment (*aṅgarakṣaka*)[28] and turban (*śirahśāṭa*).[29] Hiuen Tsang visited Kāśmīra during the years 632-635 A.D. He writes that the climate of Kāśmīra was cold and stern and so 'the people wear leather doublets and clothes of white linen'.[30] The low temperature of the valley, particularly at the time of winter, must have compelled the people to employ woollen garments to cover their body. In one of the passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Kalhaṇa refers to the use of woollen blankets (*kuthā*)[31] and in another of warm cloaks (*prāvāra*).[32] But the Chronicler points out that fine woollen blankets (fore-runner of later Kāśmīra Shawls?) were allotted for the rich urban people only.[33] The plebeians of modest means probably had to satisfy their wants with cheaper woollen goods such as the skins of black antelopes (*kṛṣṇājiṇa*) and coarse woollen cloaks (*sthūlakambala*) which again were sometimes distributed to them by charitable persons.[34]

The fashionable persons kept rather long hairs to which combs were attached.[35] Sometimes, tassels of varied colours were joined with the hairs.[36] Kings and nobles also braided their hair in various styles.[37]

The poeple wore turbans too. While the commoner used ordinary *śirahśāṭa* to cover their head, the aristocrats decorated themselves with beautiful and gorgeous silky head-dresses.[38] Kalhaṇa says that king Harṣa's diadem was fixed to a broad turban.[39]

The men of early Kāśmīra used different kinds of ornaments which were not very unlike to those of women. In his *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, Dāmodaragupta describes Cintāmaṇi, the son of an officer in king's service who wears rings in his fingers, fine gold necklaces and two types of ear-rings, one of which is called *dalabīṭaka* and the other *sīsapatraka*.[40] His attendant has got in his neck coarse and cheap *kācavartakamālā* and conchshell bangles in his hands.[41] According to Kalhaṇa's evidence too, the male population of Kāśmīra used ornaments. These chiefly consisted of finger-rings, ear-rings, necklaces and bracelets.[42]

Men wore shoes which were made of leather.[43] Sometimes the shoes had steel-made soles and floral decorations outside.[44] Kṣemendra refers to a particular kind of footwear called peacock-shoe (*mayuropānat*) which was a fashion of his day.[45] The use of wooden sandals were also in vogue.[46]

The dress of a woman was composed mainly of sari and jackets. During the reign of Harṣa, fashionable ladies dressed themselves in jackets which covered but half the length of their arms and wore long lower garments, the tail end of which touched the floor.[47] Sometimes a veil was used to cover the face.[48]

The women of early Kāśmīra were not wanting in their eternal fondness for ornaments. Among the various kinds of jewelleries worn by the ladies of his native land, Kalhaṇa mentions necklaces (*hāra*), wristlets (*kaṅkaṇa*), armlets (*keyūra*) bracelets (*pārihārya*) and ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*).[49] A special type of armlet called *valaya kalāpī* and ear-ring called *kanakanāḍi* have been referred to in Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* go *Kāvya*.[50] *Valayakalāpī* was a sort of armlet having the face of a peacock and moon-shaped end.[51] *Kanakanāḍi* seems to be palmshaped small ear-drop. In the 11th century A.D., king Harṣa introduced several new types of jewelleries. These were golden ketaka-leafed tiaras (*svarṇa ketakapatrāṅka*), pendants on forehead (*tilaka*) and golden strings at the end of locks (*keśāntabaddha hemopavitakā*).[52]

The ladies used camphor, sandal and saffron to toilet and perfume the body,[53] reddened the feet and lips with lac[54] and applied collyrium in the eyes.[55] The ways of dressing the hair were various. Coiffures were decorated with flowers. Sometimes flowers were also bound with locks.[56]

Some idea regarding the constumes and ornaments of early Kāśmīra of a period prior to that we have already studied from literary sources may be had from a study of the sculptures and terracotta remains of the valley. One of the brick tiles of Harwan depicts a lady carrying a flower vase. She wears transparent robe, a kind of close fitting turban and large earings (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 5, in R. C. Kak's *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*). Another tile shows female-dancer wearing loose robes and trousers while a third one gives the picture of a female musician who also dresses herself in trousers (Pl. I, Fig. a). Some of the male figures of Harwan are dressed in lose fitting trousers and Turkoman caps. The costumes of Harwan undoubtedly show in them the influence of Central Asian dress. The exact period when the people of Kāśmīra were used to dress themselves in Central Asian fashions cannot be ascertained. It might have taken place in the early centuries of the Christian era. But the Central Asian dress seems to have made its influence felt on the costumes of Kāśmīra and its adjoining regions for a long time and when Hiuen Tsang visited India in the middle of the 7th century A.D. he observed, 'in north India, where the air is cold they (people) wear short and close-fitting garments, like the Hu people' (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. Beal, Vol. I, p. 76).

One of the terracotta tiles of Harwan represents an armed horseman equipped fully with bow and arrow. The flying scarfs attached to his military uniforms may be identical with what Kalhaṇa says *vīrapaṭṭa* or lapels of the military uniform (*R.T.*, V, 333, VIII, 1774).

Sculptural representations sometime confirm the conclusion that we derive from a study of the literary sources regarding the dress and ornaments of ancient Kāśmīra. Among the sculptural fragments recovered from Uṣkur, there is an upper arm encircled by a beaded armlet which seems to have been connected by a similar band with the necklace. Another fore-arm has a bangle round the wrist. The wristlets that were in fashion in those days are illustrated by two other partly broken hands. A fragmentary left hand has a ring on the little finger which is deserving of notice. (For the fragmentary sculptures from Uṣkur, see R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*). One of the sculptural figures of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara from Pāndreṭhan, represents him heavily ornamented.[57] Among the jewelleries worn by him one may easily note a three-peaked diadem, an elaborately jewelled necklace, a heavy jewelled wristlet, and a jewelled girdle fastening the *dhoti*. The ornaments must have been taken from real life. One of the Viṣṇu images of Avantipura is crowned with elaborately jewelled three-peaked tiara. It is probable that similar crescented crowns were worn by the kings of Kāśmīra. 'Ananta's diadem', says Kalhaṇa, 'was adorned with five resplendant crescents'.[58]

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

Dice and chess were the favourite indoor games of the people. Dice-playing has been referred to in several passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[59] Alberuni in his *Kitab-ul-Hind* has left a detailed account of the mode of chess playing which was very popular in the northern provinces of India in the 11th century A.D.[60] Gambling, though in vogue, was regarded as a reprehensible pastime.[61] The game, however, has been prescribed in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, to be played particularly on the darker 15th of the *Kārttika*.[62]

Kanduka krīḍā had been one of the most favourite games of ancient India. Its prevalence in early Kāśmīra is testified to by Dāmodaragupta's evidence.[63] Among other outdoor games, hunting was a popular one. A terracotta tile from Harwan depicts a hunter on horseback chasing a deer. There can be no doubt that the picture was taken from real life. Kalhaṇa gives vivid description of kings engaged in hunting accompanied by dogs, bands of Ḍombas and jungle-folk.[64] Jackal hunting was particularly popular.[65]

Dancing and singing, as well as theatrical performances, were widely appreciated. A tile from Harwan represents a female musician playing on a drum. Another depicts a dancer in actual dancing posture.[66] The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* lays down that *gīta*, *nṛtya* and *vādya* were to take place in some of the religious festivities. Bilhaṇa extols the women of his native land for their cleverness in acting.[67] If Kalhaṇa is to be believed, many of the kings of the valley were lovers of dancing and music and musical plays regularly took place in the illuminated assembly-halls of the royal palace.[68] One of the monarchs, Harṣa, not only enjoyed dances and songs, but also taught in person the dancing girls, how to act.[69] Literary evidence testifies to the existence of the institution of *devadāsī* in early Kāśmīra. Dancing and music must have been cultivated by them as well as by ordinary harlots.

In early Kāśmīra, Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* was held in high honour and according to Dāmodaragupta was one of the approved texts of studies.[70] Kalhaṇa also was aware of the precepts of Bharata on dancing and singing.[71] It is highly probable that many of the dancing performances of early Kāśmīra were strictly in adherence to the school of Bharata.

According to Dāmodaragupta, there were luxurious theatre halls in his native valley, fitted with leather-cushioned couches.[72] But these luxury-houses were probably meant for the rich alone. A passage of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tends to show that common people had to witness theatrical performances under an open sky. When caught by a downpour, they had to disperse in all directions.[73]

CONVEYANCES

The conveyances of early Kāśmīra consisted of horses, carriages, boats, elephants and palanquins. When Hiuen Tsang entered the valley of Kāśmīra, he was received at the outer end of Pass by the maternal uncle of the king who had been sent with horses and carriages to escort the pilgrim to the capital.[74] A perusal of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* leaves no room for doubt that the horse was an important conveyance and the poet historian often refers to the march of mounted troops (*aśvavārā*). The elephant appears in the tiles of Harwan.[75] Kalhaṇa, too, refers to the stables of elephants.[76] It may be presumed that the elephant was used as an aristocratic conveyance. Camels were preferably employed for carrying on heavy loads.[77]

While speaking of the conveyances which were in vogue in contemporary Kāśmīra, Alberuni remarks: 'The inhabitants of Kāśmīra are pedestrians, they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palanquins called *kāṭṭ*, carried on the shoulders of men'.[78] That litters were used by the aristocrats receives confirmation from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[79] But the first part of the Muslim savant's statement that the inhabitants of Kāśmīra had no riding-animals can hardly be accepted.

From earliest times, the river Vitastā formed the most important highway of Kāśmīra. The important towns of the valley were mostly situated on its banks and boats must have been needed to carry on internal trade and traffic. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* frequently refers to means of travel in the valley.[80] The busy 'coming and going of ships' was also connected in the mind of Kalhaṇa with the splendour of a large town.[81]

[1] *Nīlamata*, (ed. De Vreese), verses 748-754; *Deśopadeśa*, VIII; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 246, II, 18, V, 116-117, VII, 140.

[2] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses 696-97.

[3] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses 499-505; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 228.

[4] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* (R.A.S.B. ed.), 228.

[5] *Narmamālā* (ed. M. Kaul), I, 124.

[6] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses 484-491.

[7] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses 526-29.

[8] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 48-49.

[9] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), Vol.. I, p. 88.

[10] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (ed. Bühler), XVIII, 72; *R.T.*, I, 42.

[11] *Deśopadeśa*, III, 32; *R.T.*, VIII, 143.

[12] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verses 408-440; *R.T.*, VII, 772, 1414, VIII, 76.

[13] *Nīlamata*, 461-468, 471-477 etc.; *Narmamālā*, I, 127, II, 80; *Deśopadeśa*, III, 32; *R.T.*, VIII, 137, 140.

[14] *Narmamālā*, I, 123, II, 80; R,T., VI, 140.

[15] *Narmamālā*, I, 126-28.

[16] *Narmamālā*, I, 123; *R.T.*, VII, 1221.

[17] *R.T.*, IV, 427, V, 365, VII, 544, 787, 945, 1067.

[18] *Narmamālā*, I, 124.

[19] *R.T.*, V, 119.

[20] *R.T.*, VII, 1149.

[21] Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 166; *The Travels of Marco Polo* (Everyman's Library), p. 87.

[22] *R.T.*, VIII, 1866-67; *Deśopadeśa*, VII,

[23] *Nīlamata*, (ed. De Vreese), verses 508-14; *R.T.*, V, 119.

[24] *Samayamātṛkā*, II, 25, 71; *R.T.*, VII, 522.

[25] *Nīlamata*, 450-453.

[26] *R.T.*, VIII, 1866-67.

[27] *R.T.*, III, 362, VIII, 1863.

[28] *R.T.*, IV, 435.

[29] *Narmamālā*, I, 72.

[30] *Si-yu-ki* (tr. Beal), Vol. I, p. 148.

[31] *R.T.*, IV, 349.

[32] *R.T.*, VIII, 1310.

[33] *R.T.*, IV, 349-352.

[34] *R.T.*, V, 461, VII, 955, VIII, 2405.

[35] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, verse 62.

[36] *Ibid.*, verse 65.

[37] *R.T.*, VII, 922-924.

[38] *Narmamālā*, I, 72; *R.T.*, V, 298, 356.

[39] *R.T.*, VII, 876.

[40] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, verses 63-65.

[41] *Ibid.*, 67.

[42] *R.T.*, III, 241, IV, 349-52, VII, 876-78, 922.

[43] *R.T.*, VIII, 137.

[44] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, verse 64.

[45] *Deśopadeśa*, VI.

[46] *Narmamālā*, I, 110.

[47] *R.T.*, VII, 930.

[48] *Deśopadeśa*, III.

[49] *R.T.*, V, 380, VIII, 2835.

[50] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, verses 342, 358.

[51] Cf. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* XXI, 28-29.

[52] *R.T.*, VII, 928-931.

[53] *Nīlamata* (ed. De Vreese), verse 550; *Kuṭṭanīmata*, verse 101.

[54] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, verses, 7, 113.

[55] *R.T.*, VII, 928-931.

[56] *R.T.*, V, 357, VII, 928-931, 945.

[57] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pl. XLV.

[58] *R.T.*, VII, 195.

[59] *R.T.*, VII, 1003, VIII, 1740, etc.

[60] *India* (tr. Sachau), Vol. I, pp. 183-84.

[61] *R.T.*, VIII, 2360.

[62] *Nīlamata*, verses 401-407.

[63] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, verse 361.

[64] *R.T.*, VI, 182.

[65] *R.T.*, VI, 181, 183, VII, 171, VIII, 699.

[66] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, Pl. XXVII, figures 11 and 12.

[67] *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (ed. Bühler), XVIII, 23, 29.

[68] *R.T.*, V, 356-388, VII, 944-49, VIII, 1294.

[69] *R.T.*, VII, 1140-41.

[70] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, verses 75-123.

[71] *R.T.*, IV, 423.

[72] *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya*, verse 68.

[73] *R.T.*, VII, 1606.

[74] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 262.

[75] R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 109.

[76] *R.T.*, VII, 772.

[77] *R.T.*, VIII, 659.

[78] *India* (tr. Sachau), Vol. I, p. 206.

[79] *R.T.*, IV, 407, V, 33, 219, VII, 478, VIII, 2298, 2636, 2674, 3165.

[80] *R.T.*, V, 84, VII, 347, 714, 1628.

[81] *R.T.*, I, 201-2.

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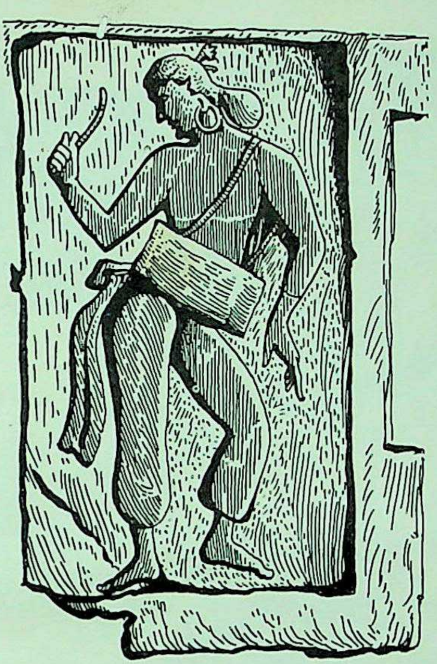
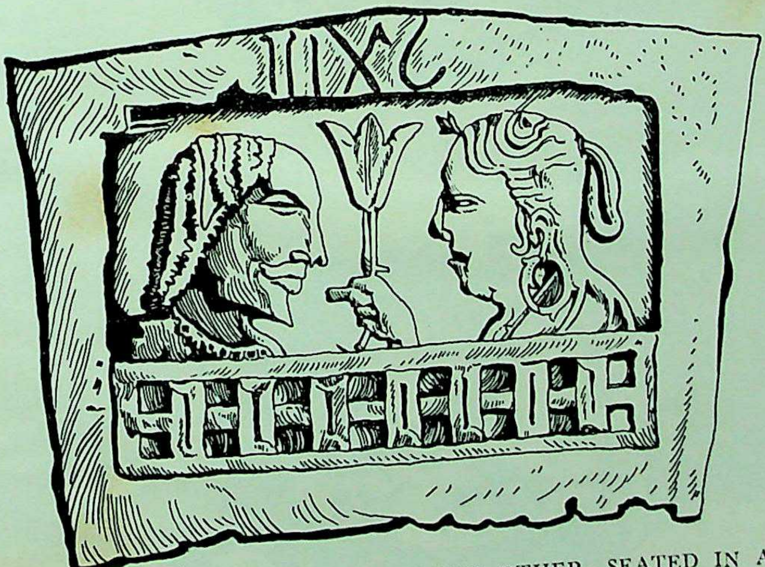
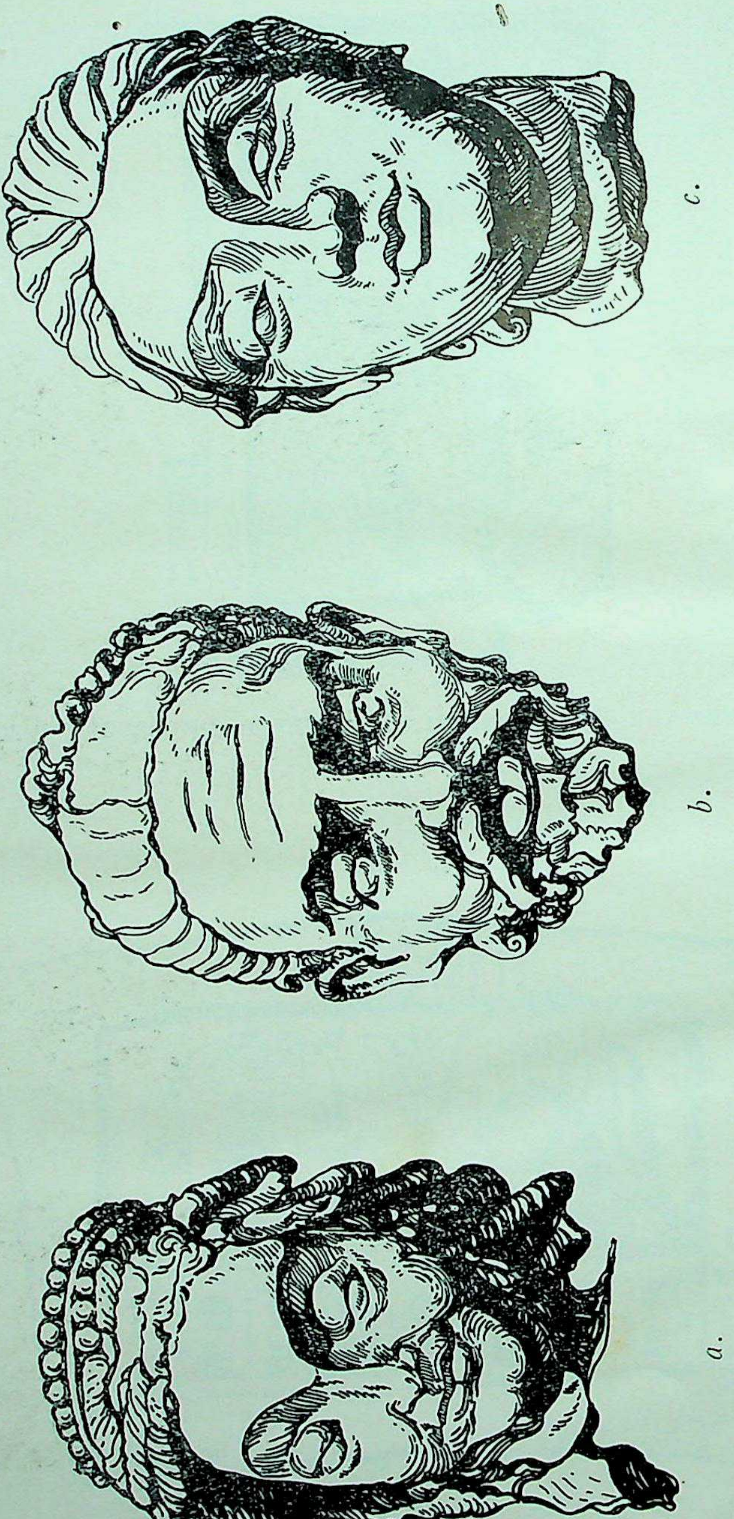


a. FEMALE MUSICIAN, PLAYING ON A DRUM, HARWAN

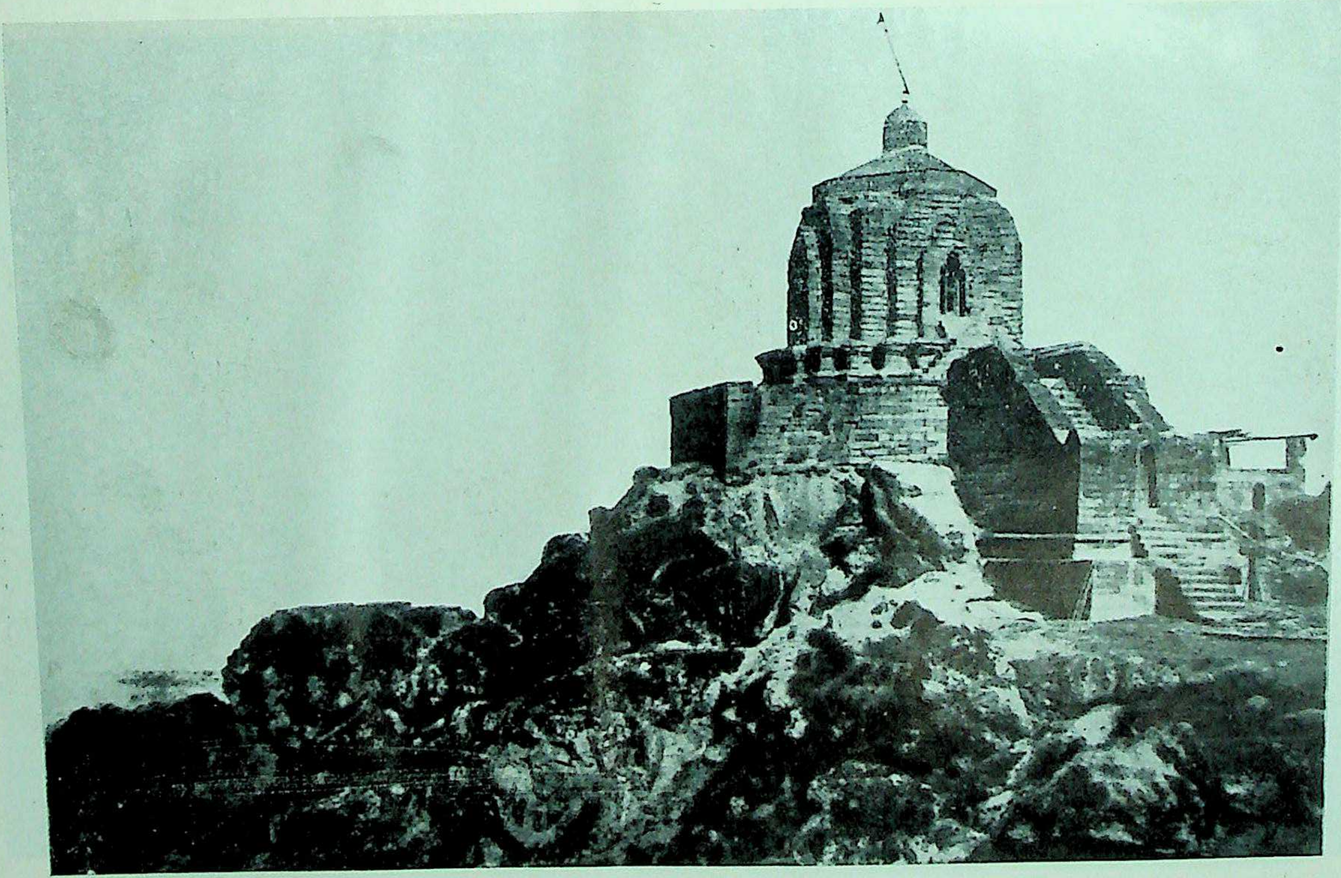


b. MAN AND WOMAN FACING EACH OTHER, SEATED IN A BALCONY, HARWAN

PLATE II

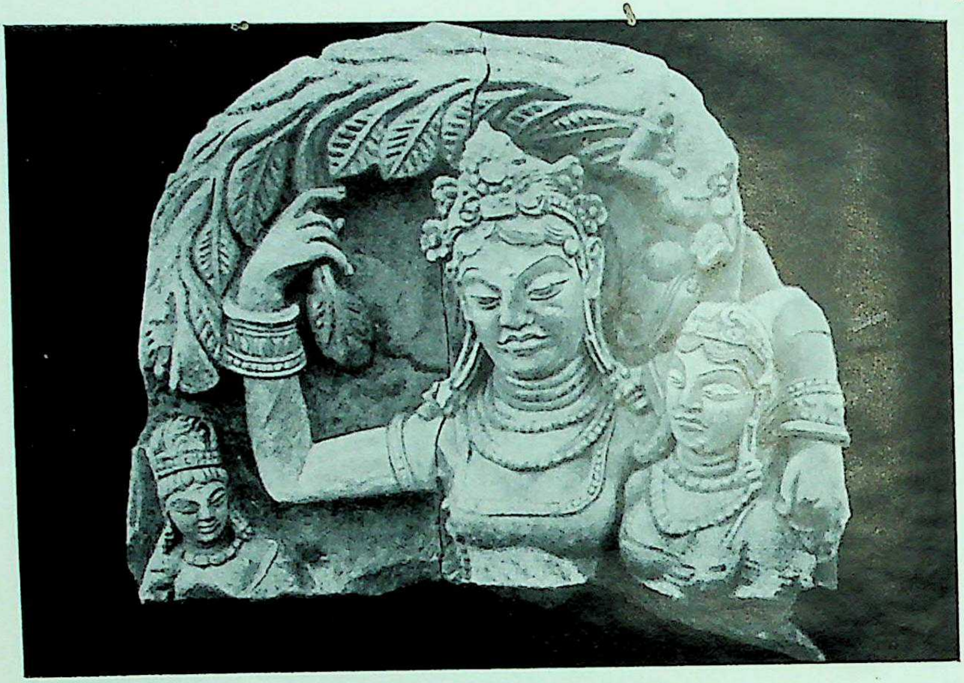


TERRACOTTA HEADS, UṢKUR

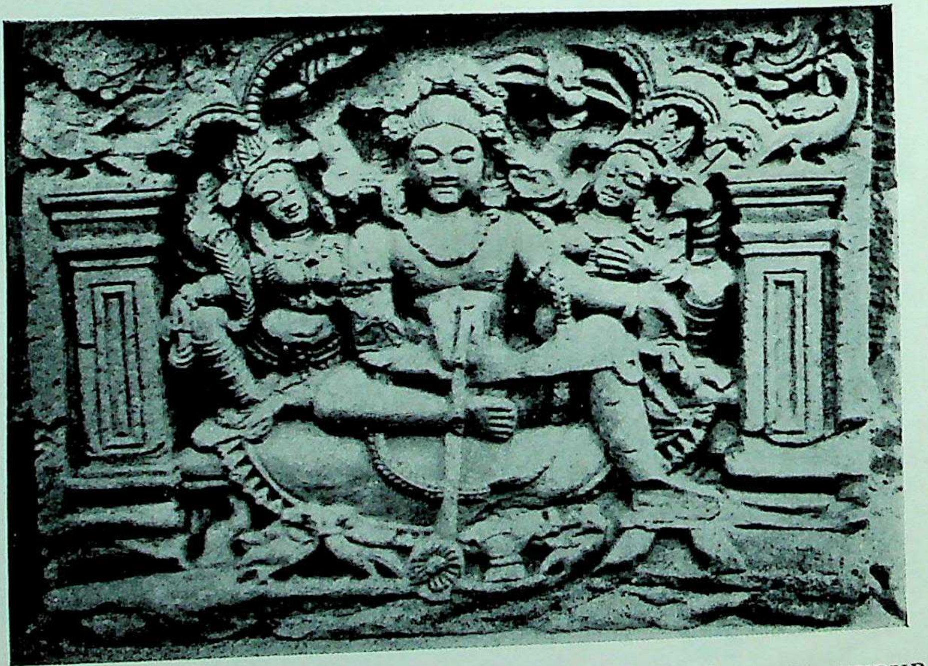


ŚAṀKARĀCĀRYA TEMPLE, TAKHT-I-SULAIMAN HILL

PLATE IV

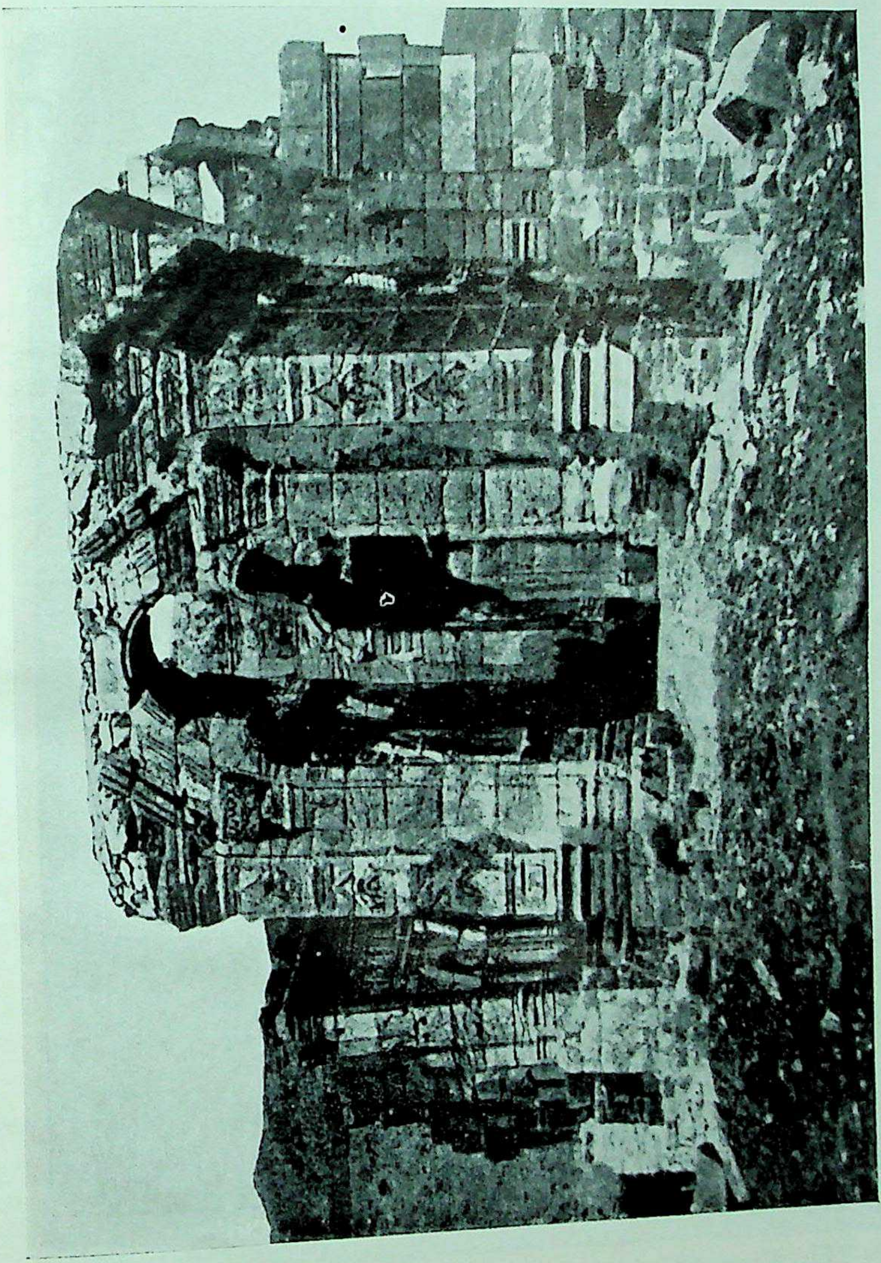


a. BIRTH OF SIDDHĀRTHA, PĀNDREṬHAN



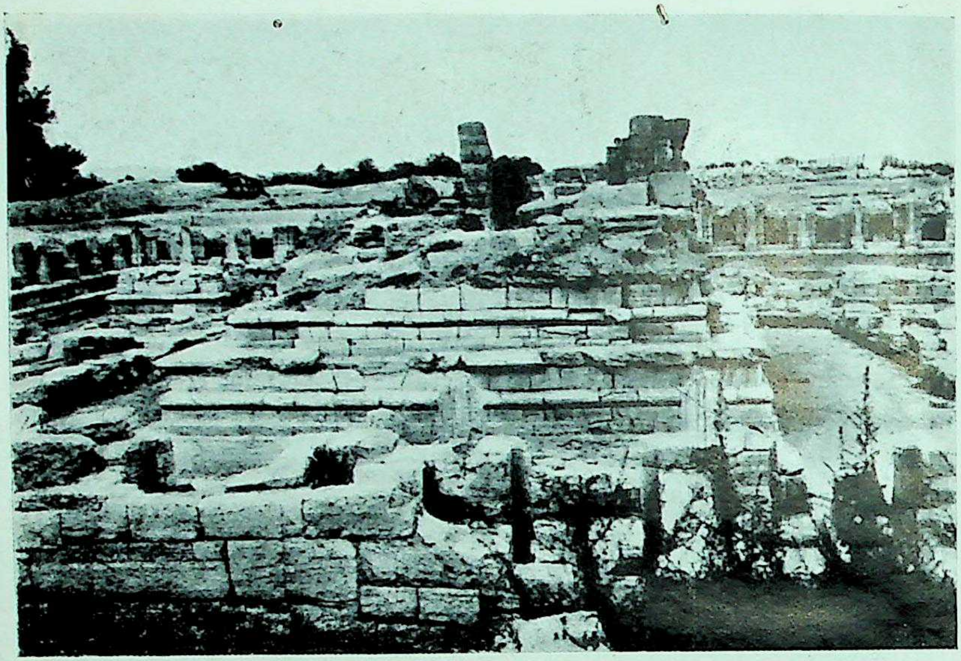
b. KĀMADEVA SEATED BETWEEN RATI AND PRĪTI, AVANTIPUR

PLATE V

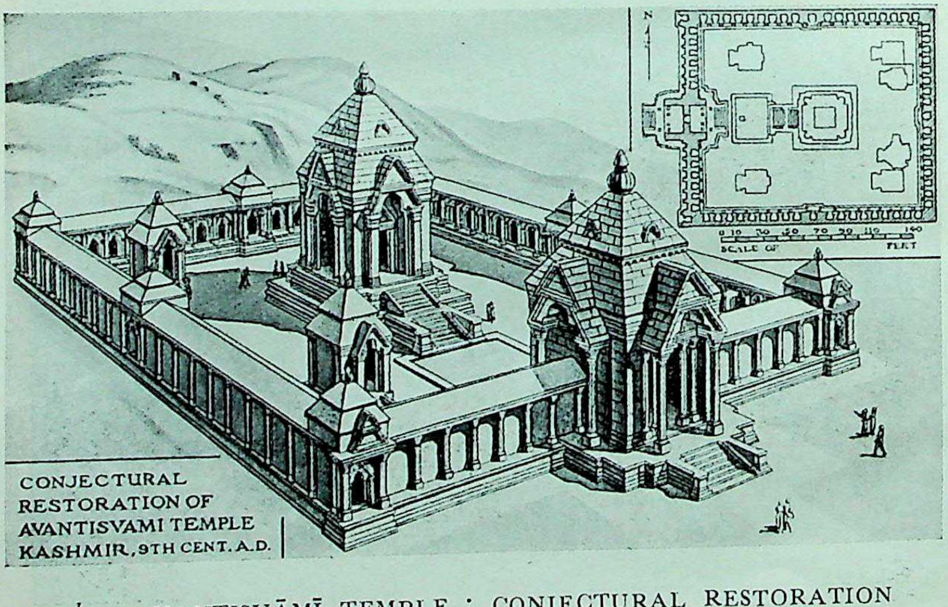


MĀRTAṆḌA TEMPLE : GENERAL VIEW, MAṬAN

PLATE VI



a. AVANTISVĀMĪ TEMPLE : GENERAL VIEW, AVANTIPUR


N
SCALE OF FEET
CONJECTURAL
RESTORATION OF
AVANTISVAMI TEMPLE
KASHMIR, 9TH CENT. A.D.

b. AVANTISVĀMĪ TEMPLE : CONJECTURAL RESTORATION

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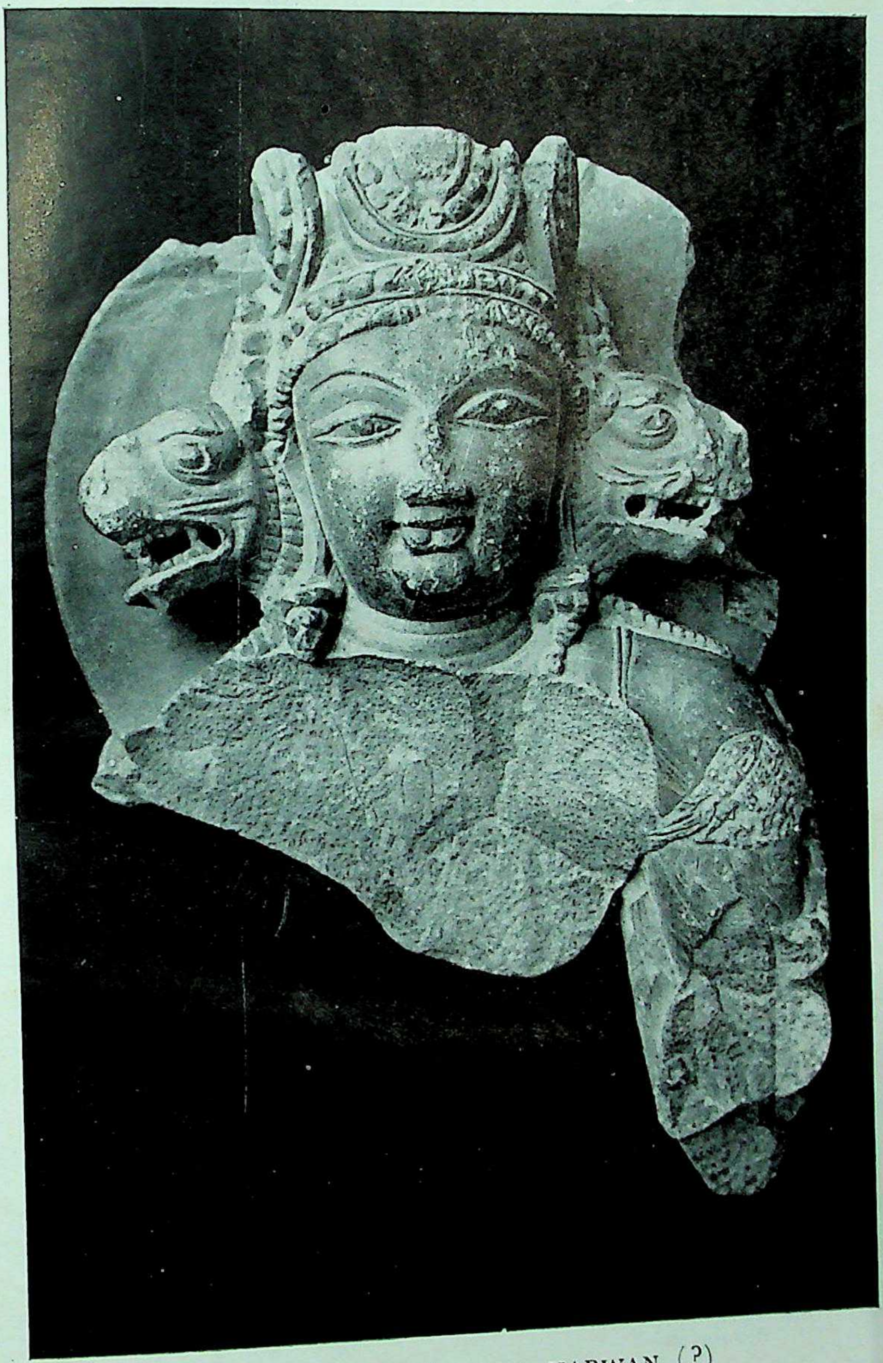
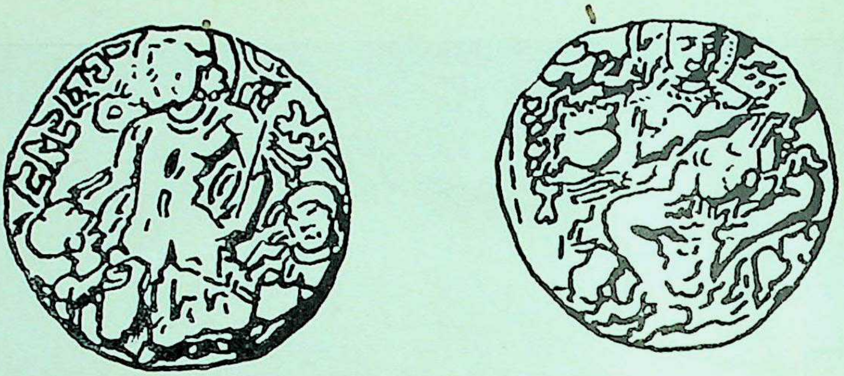
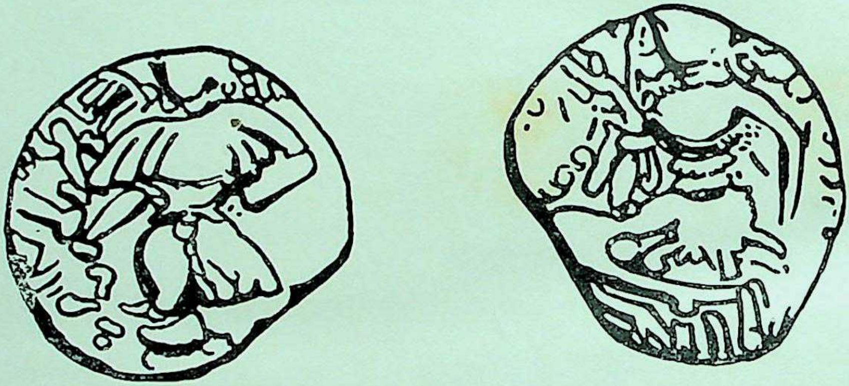


CATURĀTMAN VIṢṆU, HARWAN (?)

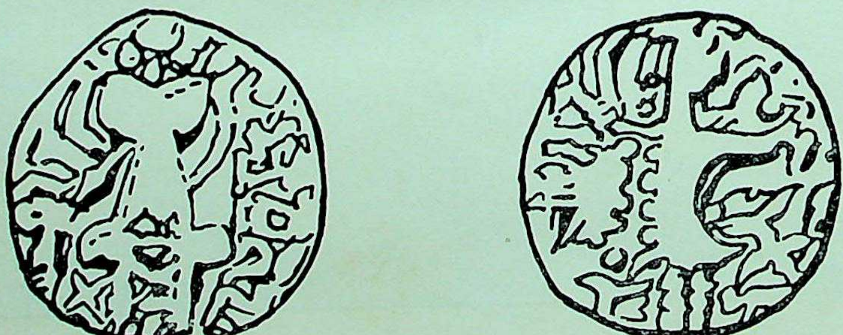
PLATE VIII



a. AV COIN OF PRAVARASENA II



b. Æ TORAMĀṆA COIN



c. ELECTRUM COIN WITH THE LEGEND *ŚRĪ PRATĀPA*

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